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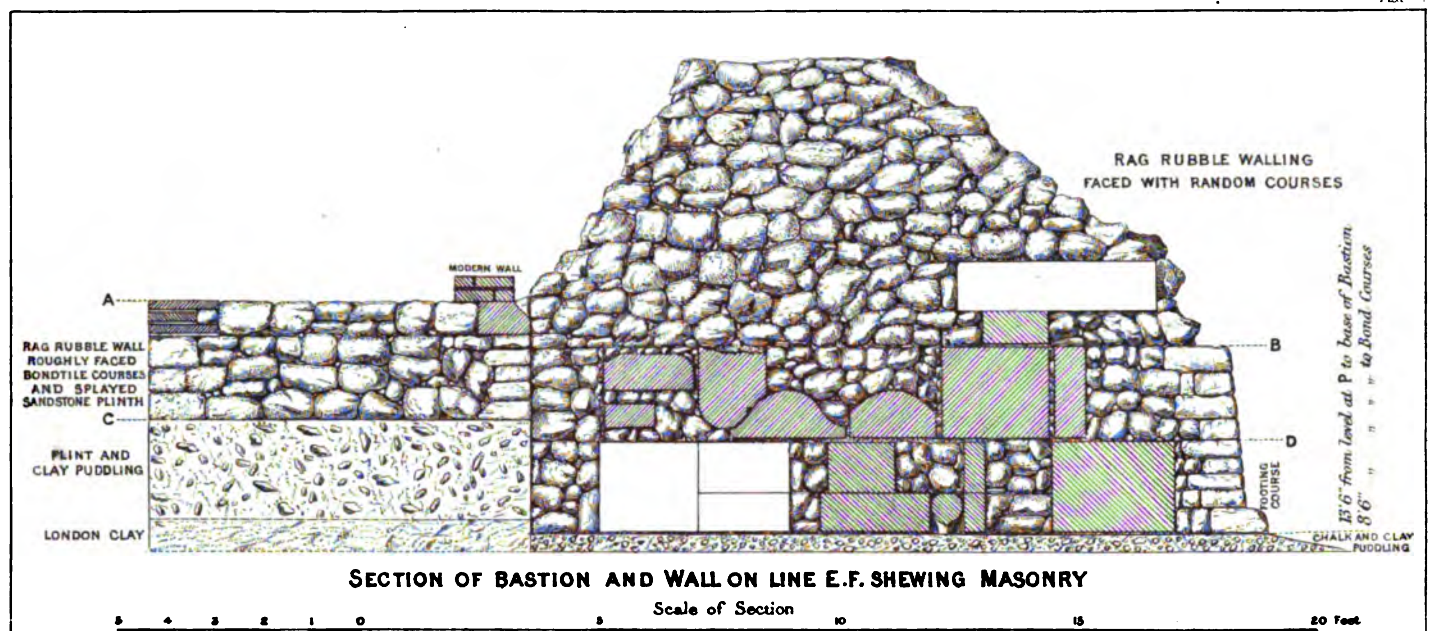
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SECTION OF BASTION AND WALL ON LINE E.F. SHEWING MASONRY

Scale of Section

5 4 3 2 1 0 5 10 15 20 Feet



ELEVATION OF WALL AND BASTION

Scale of Elevation and Plan.

10 5 0 10 20 30 40 50 60 70 80 90 100 Feet

CAMOMILE STREET

Pavement Level P

Nº 27

Nº 33

8'0"

8'0"

14'9"

20'0"

Warehouse in rear of Houses
(*taken down in 1876*)

OLD SEWER IN THE CENTRE OF THE DITCH

GENERAL PLAN
shewing site of
WALL AND BASTION
between Nos 27 and 33
CAMOMILE STREET
BISHOPSGATE
LONDON

ON A

BASTION OF LONDON WALL,

OR,

EXCAVATIONS

IN

CAMOMILE STREET, BISHOPSGATE.

BY

JOHN EDWARD PRICE, F.S.A. M.R.S.L.



WESTMINSTER:
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1880.

PREFACE.

After an interval of nearly four years I am enabled to lay before the Corporation of the City of London, and the Members of the London and Middlesex Archæological Society, an illustrated description of the Roman Antiquities found in Camomile Street, Bishopsgate, and recently arranged for inspection in the Museum at Guildhall.

That so long a period should have elapsed since the discovery of these relics and the issue of the present publication requires, I think, a word of explanation. The demands of other avocations on time and leisure have in a measure delayed the work, but the chief hindrance to its completion has been created by the objects themselves. They are all of a novel character, in many cases unique, and incapable of proper illustration by a simple reference to kindred remains preserved in any of the public or private collections of Great Britain. The statue of the Signifer and the group of the Lion and its victim are (so far as a lengthened search has enabled me to ascertain) both novel accessions to City discoveries. In each case points for inquiry have been suggested which rendered a prolonged investigation necessary, and reference not only to the Antiquarian treasures of this country, but to the more varied and extensive collections preserved in the museums of the Continent.

It is matter for congratulation that objects of such interest should have been found under conditions so favourable for their preservation as those which have been provided by the liberality of the Corporation.

The facility so generously afforded by the Council of the Society of Antiquaries of Newcastle-upon-Tyne for the repetition of Dr. Bruce's illustrations connected with the worship of Mithras, has enabled me to institute comparison between our isolated City example and the numerous figures of Lions preserved in the North of England. It is for future discoverers to determine whether such groups are to be associated with this Eastern myth; if so decided, London now supplies an illustration of its presence in the later days of the Roman occupation. I have however endeavoured to avoid distinct expressions of opinion upon this and other doubtful subjects, thinking it better to collect as far as possible all needful evidence, and to leave it to those interested in points of detail to assist in future investigation, and correct or substantiate as opportunity permits.

An agreeable duty remains, viz., to record my obligations to those who by their co-operation have assisted me in the work. To my friends Mr. H. C. Coote, F.S.A., Mr. C. Roach Smith, F.S.A., and Mr. Alfred White, F.S.A., I am much indebted for ever ready help; to the Rev. J. C. Bruce, M.A., to Dr. Hübner of Berlin, R. S. Ferguson, F.S.A., the Rev. H. M. Scarth, M.A., W. T. Watkin, Esq., the Rev. J. Raine, M.A., the Rev. W. Greenwell, M.A., Mr. George Joslin, W. H. Overall, F.S.A.; to Mr. Henry Hodge, and the Council of the Kent Archæological Society, my thanks are also due.

JOHN EDWARD PRICE.

Albion Road,
Stoke Newington,
1 *August*, 1880.

ON A BASTION OF LONDON WALL.

It has been the privilege of the London and Middlesex Archæological Society to be associated with the Corporation of the City of London in the investigation of the more important discoveries of local antiquities that have occurred within the last few years. The Roman tessellated pavement from Bucklersbury, of which it published a description nearly nine years ago, is now carefully preserved at Guildhall. The unique collection of Romano-British relics discovered when erecting the buildings of the National Safe Deposit Company at Walbrook has, thanks to the liberality of the Directors of the Company and the Metropolitan Board of Works, also found a home among the magnificent collections belonging to the Corporation. A third discovery, equal in interest, and of a peculiar character, has since been made in Camomile Street, Bishopsgate. The investigations made have been the result of concerted action undertaken by the Library Committee of the Corporation of London and the Council of our Society, and the valuable objects found have recently been arranged for public inspection in the museum at Guildhall.

In the autumn of 1876 the Rev. J. J. Kenworthy, M.A. of Clapton, called upon Mr. W. H. Overall, F.S.A. Librarian to the Corporation, and informed him that certain architectural fragments had been found in Camomile Street while removing the foundations of what proved to be one of the bastions attached to the City Wall. Subsequently an announcement of the discovery appeared in The Times in a letter from Mr. E. T. Loftus Brock, F.S.A. Secretary to the British Archæological Association. At Mr. Overall's suggestion I took the earliest opportunity of visiting the excavations on behalf of the Society; the fragments were still upon the site—they comprised some massive sculptures, a figure of a lion carved from oolitic stone, and in bold relief, portions of cornices, and other objects. A careful examination at once revealed that, though sufficient had been cleared for the requirements of the buildings about to be erected, there lay buried beneath the surface a considerable portion of the foundation of the ancient bastion. It was therefore suggested to W. C. Banks, Esq. the Architect, that the Council of the London and Middlesex Archæological Society should defray the expenses

necessary for a complete investigation of the site, if he would give the requisite permission for the excavation to be renewed. To this he assented; some two or three men were deputed to the task, under the personal superintendence of his assistant, Mr. Henry Hodge. This gentleman gave every attention to the work, which daily increased in interest, until nearly a month had elapsed ere the whole of this very curious structure could be excavated and removed. The labour undertaken proved to be more formidable than was at first imagined; upwards of fifty massive fragments of sculptured stone had to be extricated before the maiden soil was reached; many of these were of considerable weight, and it was with great difficulty they could be dislodged from the position into which they had been tightly wedged and fitted. All with carvings or mouldings upon them were carefully preserved, but others, being simply squared blocks of stone devoid of ornament, were broken up upon the site, and used for filling up the cavities caused by the removal of the others. The discovery having proved to be of more than ordinary interest, Mr. Overall at once brought it to the notice of Reginald Hanson, Esq. M.A. F.S.A. then Chairman of the Library Committee, and suggested that application should be made to the Architect, W. C. Banks, Esq. for the presentation of the objects to the museum. To this Mr. Banks, on behalf of Mrs. Colley, the freeholder, cordially assented, and received a vote of thanks from the Library Committee.

On completion of the works the Library Committee, through their chairman Mr. Hanson, brought the matter to the notice of the Court of Common Council, on the 7th December, 1876, in an exhaustive Report, from which the following is extracted:—

"Early in the month of September the Librarian directed my attention and that of the Council of the London and Middlesex Archæological Society to the discovery of one of the bastions of Old London Wall, while excavating for new buildings in Camomile Street, Bishopsgate. He suggested the desirability of an application being made to the Architect, W. C. Banks, Esq. for the presentation to the museum of the Corporation of any antiquities that might be found during the progress of the works. I at once assented on behalf of the Committee, and Mr. Banks most graciously complied with the request. At about twelve feet from the level of the street, and just below the base of the more modern structure of the bastion, the figure of a lion with other fragments of ancient sculpture were discovered. These were all of such interest that the Council of the London and Middlesex Archæological Society applied for permission to continue the excavations to the London clay; the permission was given, and every assistance and facility afforded by Mr. Banks. The works proceeded under the personal direction and superintendence of John E. Price, Esq. F.S.A. Honorary Secretary to the Society, and the result has been the discovery, for the first time, of a large number of most interesting fragments relating to the buildings of Roman London. The remains most likely formed parts of an ancient building or buildings of considerable size which may have stood in the line of the highway, which leading from this—one of the entrances to Roman London—proceeded to the great cemetery at Norton Folgate: these structures having probably fallen into ruins served at a later date

as a quarry for the builders of the time, and provided materials for the erection of the bastions attached to this portion of the City wall.

"Among the sculptured stones will be found parts of cornices, friezes, spandrils, fragments of Corinthian capitals, bases of columns, and a large variery of architectural details as employed in building. Statuary is not unrepresented: there is the life-size figure in hard oolitic stone of a Roman warrior clad in fine military costume and wearing the characteristic legionary sword. A lion seizing its prey. The head of a negro, which, from its size, has doubtless served to decorate a building at a considerable elevation. Upon one of the stones is a nude figure entire, armed or bearing the attributes of one of the divinities of classic times. There are also many other curious fragments, of which I have not time to offer a description.

"This discovery therefore is unique in interest; so little being known of the architectural character of the buildings which once adorned the once important city of Londinium, so little of their dimensions or extent, and comparatively nothing of the ornamentation or statuary with which they were decorated, that any accession of materials in this respect must be of considerable value. Our museum is essentially one of a local character, and the fortunate circumstance of the entire series of these objects falling into the possession of the Corporation invests the discovery with increased interest. A similar find at Bath some years ago enabled the antiquaries of that city to produce a pictorial restoration of more than one building of which they had found but a small part. The Society is anxious to treat these remains in a similar way; plans, drawings, &c., are in progress, and it would be only too willing to furnish copies to the members of the Corporation, but their funds are inadequate for the purpose. I would therefore suggest for the consideration of the Committee that we should ask the Court of Common Council to contribute the sum of 45*l.* towards the illustration of these relics. It will be in the recollection of the Committee that upon its recommendation in 1869 the Court contributed the sum of 135*l.* towards illustrating the Roman pavement found in Bucklersbury, and the Committee arranged with the Society for 300 copies of their description of that and similar pavements found in London.

"The expenses incurred in removing these remains, some of them very large blocks, to the museum amount to 45*l.*, which I would also suggest that we ask the Court to pay, and further that the sum of 45*l.* be placed at the disposal of the Committee to prepare the relics for exhibition in the museum."

This report was unanimously approved and referred back for execution to the Library Committee. The Council of the Society at once responded to the generous offer of the Corporation, and the result is the present publication. As already mentioned the objects have recently been arranged in the Museum, under the direction of Mr. Overall.

Before attempting a description of the bastion or the interesting sculptures of which it was composed I propose to refer to the few and imperfect scraps of information which history has preserved in relation to London Wall. This is desirable for two reasons: First, because the published reports which have appeared of our discoveries speak of both the bastion and the wall as belonging to Roman times, while, as I venture to think, the evidence goes far to prove that the former was an addition, erected, if not as late as the middle ages, at a time long subsequent to the occupation by the Romans, and that the wall itself must no longer be assigned to a period so remote. Secondly, because so little now remains of the old wall for future investigation. What there was has

been nearly all pulled down within the last thirty years; here and there a fragment may still be seen serving as the foundation for modern buildings, and owing its preservation to its own solidity, and the trouble and expense which would attend its removal rather than to any interest attached to it as a relic of civic history. So completely has the wall been destroyed, that only by careful study of the boundaries of wards and parishes, compared with the notes and records collected by observers at the time, is it possible to secure a faithful description of its former appearance and extent. In the Corporation records there are numerous references to reconstruction and repair, and so frequently do these appear that it would seem as though but little of the original fabric could have existed, even in mediæval times. That the Roman city was so protected is more than probable. It was the practice of the Romans thus to inclose their towns and cities, and London would be no exception to the rule; but the extensive and irregular line of wall which surrounded our City in the middle ages, and the foundations of which were carefully examined and surveyed at the time of the Great Fire of 1666, can hardly be identified with that erected by the Roman Government prior to the close of its occupation in the fifth century. The wall, as we know it, must belong to a later period. It may, indeed, have been erected at any time prior to the coming of the Normans. The Saxons are said not to have fortified by inclosure; they, however, kept existing walls in repair, and rebuilt or added to them as necessity required. The wall which encircled Roman London could not have remained intact, unaltered, and unchanged for six long centuries, and, presuming additions or extensions to be necessary, whence came the engineers and architects, and what models did they copy? The work would be that of the settled colonists, the practice of whose trades, arts, and manufactures would flourish as heretofore unaffected by the change of government. To all intents and purposes the work might be Roman, though executed under Saxon rule. In an illuminated MS. preserved in the British Museum, which is said to belong to the latter end of the Anglo-Saxon period, there are several pictures of walled towns; the general appearance of the walls, the supporting towers, the gates, and other details, are essentially Roman in their character. In speaking of such illustrations the late Mr. Thomas Wright, M.A. remarks that they were either copied from much more ancient drawings of such objects or were representations of the walls as they were still seen. The latter explanation is probably correct, for there can be no reason why the artist of those days should seek for earlier representations when the places themselves were familiar and at hand.

That the inhabitants of fortified cities were in no way relieved of their responsibilities under the Saxon domination can be easily proved. An interesting work has recently appeared from the pen of my esteemed friend Mr. H. C. Coote, F.S.A. entitled "The Romans of Britain."* It exhaustively deals with the non-extinction of Roman laws and institutions, and abounds in illustrations which are as apt as they ought to be convincing. In treating of the obligations imposed by imperial law upon the Roman colonists, he refers at length to those incurred by the possession or transfer of land. Under these obligations the *possessor* within the territory of any given *civitas* was bound to contribute, according to the extent of the acreage which he had under cultivation, to the repair of the bridges upon the leading lines of road; and of those same lines of road within the territory; and also of the *walls* and *bastions* of the *civitas* itself. He was further required, in respect of the same land, to find recruits for the imperial armies, and to receive and subsist the emperor and his attendants when they made a progress through the province.

These responsibilities appear to have been unaltered by the withdrawal of the legions, for we find them continued, unchanged but in name, into Anglo-Saxon times. They became respectively, *burhbot, brycgbot,* and *fyrd*—necessities which, says Mr. Coote, "were general and common burdens, to which all the hidage of the shire contributed. To discharge the burden of the burhbot, the landowner was bound to find labour and material to reinstate the walls and bastions of the chief town of his own shire. Under the obligation of the brycgbot, the hidage of each county was bound to repair or rebuild the bridges connected with the high roads of the country, and also to repair those roads themselves. To discharge the burden of the fyrd, the landlord was bound to find soldiers to serve in the king's army if required."

In a recent paper published by the Society, I have ventured upon other illustrations in proof of the late erection of the City wall—viz., the vast extent of the area enclosed, the numerous burials which have from time to time been discovered within the line,† and the circumstance that the form of construction selected for

* Romans of Britain, by H. C. Coote, F.S.A. page 244.

† In addition to the cemetery on the site of St. Paul's, burials have been observed at Bow Lane and Queen Street, Cheapside. In Cornhill, to the north of Lombard Street, there was a place of sepulture. Indications of burials were found in the year 1863 at St. Dunstan's Hill. Urns containing burnt bones have recently been discovered in excavations consequent on the removal of Carpenters' Hall in London Wall, associated with coins of Trajan and Hadrian. In Dr. Woodward's letter to Sir Christopher Wren the writer describes interments in connection with a tessellated pavement on the City side of the wall in Camomile Street. Urns were found containing ashes and burnt bones, a lachrymatory of blue glass, and a coin of

the wall is one of the latest that can in any way be associated with the Roman period. It may be difficult in Britain to determine the precise age of Roman masonry, but much assistance may be derived from a comparison with those buildings in Rome which, from tile-stamps and inscriptions, are known to be of a particular date. An ashlar facing of stone and tile, inclosing a mass of concrete rubble, was a style of building unusual in Rome until the fourth century.* It may there be recognised in the circus of Maxentius and Romulus, A.D. 310, and in the towers and gateways erected in the days of Honorius, A.D. 400. The circus is the most perfect one remaining in or near Rome. It was long called by other names, but was identified by an inscription found on the spot by Canina, during excavations on the Via Appia.† These respective structures both mark decadence in the art of building and afford a striking contrast to the beautiful masonry and brickwork of earlier times. With few exceptions, this rough description of work is that which prevails not alone in Britain but throughout Germany and France. In the more ancient of the Italian cities it is conspicuous by its absence. In this country it is all but universal, and in comparing works still standing at Colchester, Verulam, York, Lincoln, Porchester,

Antoninus Pius. The burials beneath the pavement show them to be of earlier date, and that the site was extramural at the time of deposition. Within the last few months a coped stone of a marble tomb has been discovered near to the west door of St. Helen's church, Bishopsgate; associated with it was a coin of Constantine Junior, A.D. 317-340. This is now in the museum at Guildhall. It is not yet proved whether this interesting relic is a memorial of an interment on the site, or whether the marble fragment had been simply brought to the spot as building material; future excavation can alone determine this, but the discovery is worthy of record. All these sites are within the present line of wall, and, to a great extent, they circumscribe the limits of the ancient city. The law of the Twelve Tables did not allow of burial either within the walls, or even in the space known as the Pomærium. "Hominem mortuum in urbe ne sepelito neve urito," writes Cicero. In the reign of Hadrian it was enacted that any one found guilty of burying a body within the city would be fined 40 aurei—about 30*l.* There were doubtless attempts to evade the law, but it nevertheless held good for centuries after the introduction of Christianity. It was confirmed by succeeding emperors, and it is not until long after the time of Constantine that a recognised change is recorded. Transactions of London and Middlesex Archæological Society, vol. x. pp. 403—424.

* The Emplecton of Vitruvius: walls constructed of two faces of masonry filled in with cement, which cement consisted of pounded bricks or tiles, rough stones or flints, and lime well incorporated. In good descriptions of work there were sometimes layers of cross-stones, *diatoni*, placed at intervals in regular courses, and of sufficient size to extend through the entire thickness of the wall from side to side, and so act as girders to bind the whole together. In inferior work, and where these binding courses were dispensed with, *diamicton* was the term employed; in other respects its character was the same. Vide L'Architettura di M. Vitruvio Pollione in Napoli, ed. 1758, lib. viii. A similar style of building is referred to by Pliny the Younger in one of his letters to the Emperor Trajan, 10—48. Writing of the Theatre of Nicæa, he speaks of the walls giving way because they had been filled in without hewn stones in the middle and without a band of brickwork, "quia sine cæmento farcti nec testaceo opere præcincti."

† See Archæology of Rome, by J. H. Parker, F.S.A., part ix.

Pevensey, Richborough, Lymne, Leicester, Silchester, Wroxeter, and elsewhere, it will be observed that while the materials selected are those locally accessible, the form and style adopted is uniform throughout. It is, however, not met with at Chester, where the walls are of high antiquity, or north of York, and finds no illustration in the great wall of Hadrian or in the few examples of Roman work which have been found in Scotland. Its absence in Rome is one of the most striking features of interest connected with the four walls which have in turn inclosed that city. It is nowhere represented, and the effect is the more singular because in most other matters there is no such marked distinction. The construction of the villas, the roofing-tiles, mosaic pavements, hypocausts, and the frescoes, sculpture, pottery, and glass, coins, metal work, with matters of minor detail, are all ono and the same. The museums abound in objects whose distinguishing features at once identify them as the products of the same unvarying industry and skill, whether found at Herculaneum and Pompeii, or in this far distant province, at London or at York.

It is on record that in the reign of Alfred, 872-901, important additions were made to the fortifications of the City, much of the wall may therefore have been erected at this time. In the reign of Stephen, 1135-1153, portions had fallen into a ruinous condition, for in a confirmatory grant of this reign to the Franciscans when erecting their new church and offices, as the canons of St. Martin's-le-Grand, in their possessions without Cripplegate, they obtained permission to make use of certain stones of the Wall of London which had fallen down and encumbered the highway running through their land.* In the year 1257 the walls were substantially repaired by King Henry III.; they were "sore decayed," writes Stowe, "and destitute of towers"; the cost was met by tolls and customs granted by the Crown. Murage was the tax imposed upon the citizens for such purpose; it was a toll levied upon all carts and horses plying within the City, as was "pavage" for the repairing of roads, and "pontage" for the privilege of passing over or beneath the bridges subject to civic jurisdiction.†

The traditions which cling to the City Gates afford but slight assistance in dealing with the date of the wall; such as they are, they refer us to Saxon times. To the early City there were probably four principal entrances. Stowe speaks of these as being Aldgate for the east, Aldersgate for the north, Ludgate for the west, and the Bridgegate over the river of Thames for the south; but "of later

* Historical Notices of the Collegiate Church and Sanctuary of St. Martin's-le-Grand, by A. J. Kempe, F.S.A. page 64.

† Liber Albus, 117, 126.

times for the ease of citizens and passengers divers other gates and posterns have been made."* The limits thus defined are however quite inapplicable to the first Roman settlement, modern researches having shown that the Londinium of the Empire is to be looked for to the east of Walbrook, occupying a comparatively small space, within the limits of which no discoveries of sepulchral remains have as yet been recorded. This inclosure included the wards of Tower, Billingsgate, Bridge, Dowgate, Langbourn, Candlewick, Walbrook, and a small portion only of what is now Bishopsgate Street Within. By degrees one city became superseded by another, a gradual growth, resembling that of Rome, ever on the increase, branching out in all directions, until tracts of country once sacred to the rites of sepulture became of necessity inclosed and appropriated to the public use. Under Roman legislation there were special privileges and protection accorded to land once used for burial, but, if necessity required, it could by a special edict be alienated from its original possessors and devoted to the service of the state. Indications of Roman villas which have from time to time been observed in Crosby Square, Threadneedle Street, and the immediate neighbourhood of Bishopsgate, show from their proximity to the surface that they once formed part of the suburbs of Roman London. The same observations will apply to the tessellated pavements found in Cheapside and Paternoster Row, whereas in the inclosure above referred to, the whole district is seen to have been densely populated, and a long period of occupation finds illustration in the fact that, while the Roman level is attained at a depth of some fifteen or sixteen feet from the surface, in many places it extends to nearly thirty.

Of the gates mentioned by Stowe, Aldgate and Bridgegate possess the highest claims to antiquity, the others belong to the later extensions of the city. From the etymology of the first, either the existence of a former structure is implied † or that new names were given to the gates at the extension of the walls. The "Old Gate" must have been so called in order to give it a marked distinction from the others. Stowe says that in a charter of King Edgar to the Knights of

* Stowe's Survey of London, edited by W. J. Thoms, Esq. F.S.A. page 11. This valuable edition has been selected for this and all subsequent quotations.

† In extending the limits of their cities the Romans did not necessarily destroy the earlier gates. Illustrations occur in Rome where they have been suffered to remain. Varro mentions three in the Pomærium. The Porta Lavernale, according to Nardini, was built instead of the Porta Trigemina, "*restando la Trigemina in piedi inutile* come da Vittore e da Rufo ci si dimostra," tom. i. p. 97. Some of the gates of Servius Tullius are believed to have survived the Empire, preserving their existence, though converted into other buildings.

Knighten Guild * it is spoken of as Aeldgate; its antiquity therefore was recognised in the tenth century. It formed the principal exit from the city for passengers to Norfolk, Suffolk, and Cambridgeshire, prior to the erection of Bishopsgate. Bridgegate was situate at London Bridge, naturally of high antiquity as defining the connecting link between the City and Roman Southwark. Fitzstephen writing of a later age speaks of there being seven gates; these are enumerated in an ordinance for the custody of the City gates of the reign of Edward I., and are mentioned as Ludgate et Newgate, Aldridesgate, Crepelgate, Bissopesgate, Alegate, and Porta Pontis. It will be observed that Newgate is here connected with Ludgate; its name not only shows it to be a later erection than the others, but the fact is significant that it stands alone in the list as not attached to a ward bearing the same name. Bishopsgate, so closely associated with the recent discoveries, is said to have been built by a Bishop of London, Erkenwald, son of Offa, King of the East Saxons, for the convenience of passengers towards the east.† There appears to be no authority for this save an ancient tradition, but, if the erection of Bishopsgate be assigned to the Saxon period, there arises an important reason why the wall adjoining it should belong to a period equally late. Had the wall been standing when the gate was constructed an opening would have been required through masonry eight feet or more in thickness, and with foundations extending to the maiden soil; that no such formidable work ever covered the present thoroughfare is more than probable. In the course of excavations required for the construction of a new sewer for the Great Eastern Railway in the year 1872, extending from the end of Gracechurch Street to the end of Norton Folgate, shafts were sunk at intervals, and an accurate survey of the ground was made. A plan showing the character of the soil throughout the entire line was kindly prepared for me by Mr. F. A. Burt, under whose superintendence the sewer was constructed. Near to the site of Bishopsgate a shaft was sunk to a considerable depth. No indication appeared of any previous excavations which would

* A corporation originating in combinations which resulted from Roman influence. Our civic guilds and trade corporations have descended from the Collegia of the Empire. The Guild of Knights or *cniahta gealdan* are mentioned in a defaced charter of the seventh century. In Domesday reference is made to a guild of clerks possessing house property in Canterbury; *see* Thorpe's Laws, vol. i. p. 112, vol. ii. p. 246. Ellis's Introduction to Domesday. Coote's Romans of Britain, p. 410.

† Erkenwald or Erkenwold, Bishop of London, son of Offa, King of the East Saxons, consecrated A.D. 675. He founded the monasteries of Chertsey and Barking, at the latter of which he died about the year 685. Newcourt says, there were great struggles after his death as to the possession of his body; he was, however, afterwards buried in his own cathedral church of St. Paul's, *circ.* 1140. Stowe says he died in 697. See Dugdale's History of St. Paul's. Also Weever's Funeral Monuments, p. 358.

have been at once apparent had any such diggings been made either in Wormwood Street * on the west, or in Camomile Street on the east. This shaft was twenty feet in diameter and over fifty feet deep: nearly seven feet of made ground first appeared, next a similar thicknesss of loam, and upwards of seventeen feet of sand and gravel, and then the natural London clay. If any important structure had ever traversed the highway some trace of the foundations would, probably, have been seen. It may therefore fairly be assumed that Bishopsgate was constructed at the same period as the wall.

That good reason existed in the fourteenth century for the tradition that the erection of the gate was due to a Bishop of London is to be found in the circumstance that in the reign of Edward I., A.D. 1300, the bishop was obliged to keep the hinges in good repair, seeing that from every cart laden with wood he was entitled to one stick as it entered the gate.† In the year 1470 it was rebuilt by the Hanse Merchants, who had covenanted with Henry III. that they and their successors should keep the gate in repair. Over the gate were placed two figures; that upon the south side was stone and representing a bishop with a mitre on his head, a long beard, sunken eyes, and what has been described by the historians a mortified face; this was presumed to represent St. Erkenwald; upon the north side was another figure of an ecclesiastic with a smooth face, his right hand in the attitude of benediction, in his left a crosier. This was thought to represent William the Norman. It was accompanied by two other figures of stone, supposed to represent King Alfred and his son-in-law Eldred, Earl of Mercia.



In some excavations in the year 1826, for the purpose of laying out what is now Liverpool Street, a singular statue of white marble was discovered. It was mutilated, the head being missing; it measured about three feet six inches in height, and, as seen by the illustration,‡ was the figure

* In Wormwood Street the Roman level is very shallow, not deeper than five or six feet, and there are few indications of any disturbance of the soil; there is next loam; and gravel at a depth of seventeen to twenty feet.

† Corporation Records. Letter Book C. &c. xlvii.

‡ From a drawing by the late T. Fisher, published in the Gentleman's Magazine, vol. xcvi. p. 209.

of an ecclesiastic in his sacerdotal vestments, viz. the alb and chasuble with the maniple hanging over the left arm. In the right hand there appears a key, and in the left a book. It has been described as resting upon a slab and as being of coarse workmanship, and is thought to have been one of the statues which once adorned the ancient gate. There is however but little authority for this; the gate was demolished in the year 1731, and rebuilt at the expense of the Corporation, and it is difficult to see how this curious fragment should have been buried at some distance from the building, to be again recovered after the lapse of nearly a hundred years. It is quite as probable that it was a late memorial of the extensive Roman cemetery which occupied this site.

"In the 17 Edward IV." says Stowe, "Ralph Joceline, Mayor, caused part of the wall about the City of London to be repaired: to wit, betwixt Aldgate and Aldersgate. He also caused Moorfields to be searched for clay, and brick thereof to be made and burnt there; he likewise caused chalk to be brought out of Kent, and to be burnt into lime in the same Moorfield for more furtherance of the work. Then the Skinners, to begin in the east, made that part of the wall betwixt Aldgate and Bevis Marks, towards Bishopsgate, as may appear by their arms in three places fixed there; the Mayor, with his Company of the Drapers, made all that part betwixt Bishopsgate and Allhallows church, and from Allhallows towards the postern called Moorgate. A great part of the same wall was repaired by the executors of Sir John Crosby, late Alderman, as may appear by his arms in two places there fixed, and other companies repaired the rest of the wall to the postern of Cripplegate; the Goldsmiths repaired from Cripplegate towards Aldersgate, and then the work ceased."

London Wall commenced at the Tower, that fortress being detached and external to the City, coinciding in this respect with Chester, where the castle was without the city until Saxon times, when it was inclosed within the boundaries by Ethelfleda, daughter of King Alfred. From the Tower it ran northward to the east end of Leadenhall Street, bending towards the north-west until, reaching the north end of Bishopsgate Street Within, it ran westward by Cripplegate to Aldersgate, next to Newgate, and thence by the eastern bank of the Fleet river to Castle Baynard by the Thames. This fortress, doubtless, is of Roman origin. In later days its proprietor held the ward which bears its name on a tenure similar to that enjoyed by the possessor of the ward of Tower to the east of Roman London.

Chester

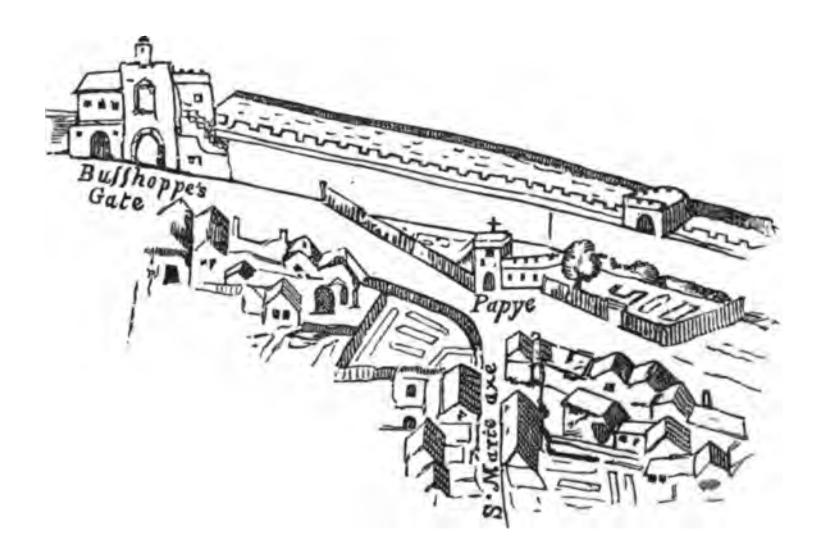
That the wall was continued along the river bank is probable from the references which occur in the Chronicles of FitzStephen. Writing in the reign of

Henry II. he speaks of it as having in his day been long since subverted through the ebbing and flowing of the fish-abounding Thames. Indications of this wall have been observed, and in it illustrations of Roman workmanship. It was the discovery of its foundations, some years ago, that led Mr. Roach Smith to the opinion that the ancient city was inclosed by a mural defence on the river-side as well as on the others. "The workmen," writes Mr. Smith, "employed in excavating for sewerage in Upper Thames Street, advanced without impediment from Blackfriars to the foot of Lambeth Hill, where they were obstructed by the remains of a wall of extraordinary strength, which formed an angle at Lambeth Hill and Thames Street. Under this wall the contractor for the sewer was obliged to excavate to the depth of about 20 feet, and the consequent labour and delay afforded me an opportunity for examining the construction and course of the wall. The upper part was generally met with at the depth of about 9 feet from the level of the present street, and 6 feet from that which marks the period of the Great Fire of London; and, as the sewer was constructed to the depth of 20 feet, 8 feet of the wall in height had to be removed. In thickness it measured from 8 to 10 feet. It was built upon oaken piles, over which was laid a stratum of chalk and stones; and upon this a course of hewn sandstones, each measuring from 3 to 4 feet by 2 and 2½ feet, cemented with the well-known compound of quicklime, sand, and *pounded tile*. Upon this solid substructure was laid the body of the wall, formed of ragstone, flint, and lime, bonded at intervals with courses of plain and curved-edged tiles. This wall continued, with occasional breaks, where at some remote time it had been broken down, from Lambeth Hill as far as Queenhithe. On a previous occasion I had noticed a wall precisely similar in character in Thames Street, opposite Queen Street.

"One of the most remarkable features of this southern wall was the circumstance of many of the large stones which formed the lower part being sculptured and ornamented with mouldings, denoting their use in the friezes or entablatures of edifices at some period antecedent to the construction of the wall. Fragments of sculptured marble which had also decorated buildings, and parts of the foliage and trellis-work of an altar or tomb, of good workmanship, had also been used as building material. In this respect the walls resemble those of many of the ancient towns on the Continent, which were partly built out of the ruins of public edifices, of broken altars, sepulchral monuments, and such materials, proving their comparatively late origin, and showing that even the ancients did not at all times respect the memorials of their ancestors and predecessors, and that our modern vandalism sprang from an old stock."

In some recent correspondence Mr. Smith tells me of his examination of the walls of many of the Roman towns in France, and how impressed he was with the very similar coincidence in the wall of London. "The interesting sculptures from Sens were taken from the town wall, and others from Dijon and Bordeaux. At Bourges and Perigueux the remains of temples and other public edifices, columns, pilasters, friezes, entablatures, and of large and decorated sepulchral monuments, altars, &c., which have been taken out of the walls, constitute mainly the museums of those towns. As those in London, they point to periods of overthrow and of restoration, of a wide destruction of the towns and of a rebuilding of the walls. One of the most extraordinary and extensive collections of ancient monuments used for building the city walls occurred at Narbonne, when the Roman walls in the time of Francis I. were pulled down and the present walls erected; the tasteful architect saved the sculptures and inscribed stones and placed them high out of harm's way in the new walls, where they have been saved but never fully examined and published."

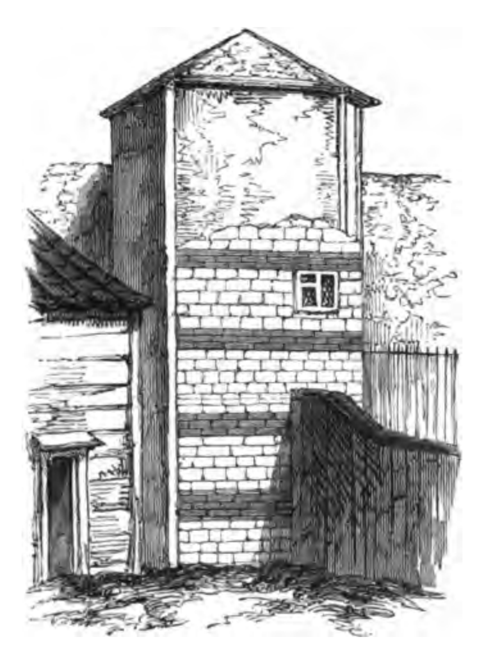
In addition to his mention of the southern wall, Fitzstephen records how upon the north the wall was well towered with due distance between the towers; such of the towers and bastions as were standing in the reign of Queen Elizabeth are figured on the well-known map ascribed to Ralph Agas, and, though accuracy in delineation of such details would not be expected in this quaint old plan of



London, yet we may consider the position and general outline of those selected for illustration to be tolerably accurate. They are mostly circular, but sometimes square, the latter being probably those adapted to the requirements of

habitation. With one exception, to be presently noticed, the positions as figured by Agas essentially agree with those on subsequent plans; for example, with that in the possession of the Corporation of the City of London, prepared, at the time of the Great Fire of 1666, by the sworn surveyors Messrs. Ogilby and Morgan. On this plan the first bastion from the Tower is shown as looking out upon the Minories, situate at the end of Chain Alley, leading towards Woodruff Lane and on to Crutched Friars. This was about 750 feet from the external wall of the Tower; between this and Aldgate were two others, the second about 150 feet from the first, and the third 400 feet from that and 250 feet from Aldgate. The bastion at Cripplegate is also shown, and two in Monkwell Street about 150 feet apart, then one at Christ's Hospital, and another 100 feet westwards near to the corner of Giltspur Street at the top of Pincock Alley and 100 feet from Newgate. From thence to the river no towers or bastions are shown upon the plan.

At the time this survey was taken it would appear that only three bastions were in existence between Aldgate and Bishopsgate, but in Agas's map, while no tower or buttress is indicated in connection with that portion of the wall extending from Moorgate to Bishopsgate, between the latter and Aldgate no less than four substantial embattled structures are portrayed. In passing down what is now Camomile Street all these bastions as seen upon the map appear to the right of St. Mary Axe, an ancient way, and one of the boundaries of Aldgate Ward. Our illustration from Agas shows the position of Bishopsgate, and its relation to the first of these semicircular structures connected with this portion of the wall. Allowing for probable inaccuracies in drawing and perspective, this may represent the identical bastion the foundations of which have been now discovered.



Camomile Street led to the church of St. Augustine, united in later times with that of Allhallows-on-the-Wall, and to a religious house and garden known as the Hospital of Le Papey or Pappey. The site lately occupied by the bastion adjoined the burial-ground attached to this establishment. A large number of carved fragments of stone, many bearing upon them indications of gilt and colour and all of mediæval date, were found

among the rubbish, and it is not improbable that they may have belonged either to the Pappey Chapel or some of the buildings connected with the hospital.

In Richard Newcourt's Map of London, published in the year 1658, two towers or bastions are seen standing between Newgate and Aldersgate; that near to St. Giles Cripplegate is also shown, but none appear between Bishopsgate and Aldgate, and one only between the latter and the Tower. The discrepancies between the plan and that of Ogilby's, some ten years later, is probably due to the circumstance that the latter was a ground-plan showing what had existed previous to the Fire of 1666, while the former, as a birdseye view of the city, simply indicates the towers then standing, with their battlements, and not those the foundations of which were probably only in existence.

Maitland, in his History of London, speaks of the towers as having been fifteen in number, and gives a description of one standing in his time at the end of Gravel Lane to the west of Houndsditch. This was sketched by Gough in the year 1763, and has since been illustrated by Mr. Roach Smith in his "Roman London." I am indebted to Mr. Smith for the loan of the woodcut; it shows the tower as square, and resembling those still to be seen at Richborough in Kent, and other places. Of the towers at Richborough those at the corners are round, while the two situated at each of the side-walls are square. They were built separate from the wall as were those at Lymne. At Burgh Castle all the towers are round. At Caerwent the walls are supported by buttresses and towers, solid and pentagonal in form; like our bastion, they were built against the wall but not into it. At York and Aldborough the square buttresses appear to have been small hollow towers. One of the best illustrations of such a tower is still standing at Rome; it is attached to the great wall of Aurelian, is quite perfect, and is situate between the Porta Pinciana, a work of the Emperor Honorius, and the more modern gateway known as Porta Salaria. Such towers were solid at the base, hollow in the centre, and united to the main wall at the top. They usually contained a room with windows or loopholes for watchers. In the wall of Aurelian a corridor runs from one tower to the other; this was the sentinel's walk, constructed within the thickness of the wall. The tower at Houndsditch, says Maitland, was inhabited by a baker, and the door thereof within the wall is in Shoemaker Row, fronting the passage into Duke's Place. Mr. Fairholt's illustration indicates the chamber in the tower with a window occupying the position of the loophole of earlier times. Maitland further records that at a distance of eighty paces from the tower, in a south-easterly direction towards Aldgate, he discovered another of like construction, but far more beautiful than the former.

On the occasion of a fire on Ludgate Hill, in May, 1792, portions of an ancient barbican or watch-tower were discovered. This belonged to a later wall, and had served as foundations for buildings erected subsequently to the Great Fire of 1666. It projected fourteen feet north from the wall into the City Ditch, and measured twenty-two feet from the upper stone of its ruins to the top. It consisted of lumps of stone of different sizes; some of the largest were roughly squared. These were all "goggled" together and filled in with slush of hot lime, which cemented them so strongly that the workmen who took parts of them down were obliged to drive in wedges to get them asunder, their pickaxes being turned or blunted at almost every stroke. The corner stones were all chopped nearly square, of two sizes, and placed alternately. Part of this structure was about eight feet thick, the usual width of the City Wall. Mr. J. T. Smith,* who records the discovery, remarks that portions of it were of much ruder workmanship than others; masonry, he says, it can hardly be called. It consisted of large and small stones of irregular forms together with quantities of chalk and flints. The only bricks employed in this part of London Wall were evidently modern, and worked upon its south side as a neater boundary of part of Stonecutter Alley, which leads westerly from the Broadway to the crescent formerly called Fleet Ditch. From thence it continued southerly to the tower ordered to be erected by Edward I. which must have stood upon or near the spot now occupied by the east half of Chatham Place, situate at the foot of Blackfriars Bridge. In Hollar's view of London appears a delineation of this tower. It was doubtless constructed, as before-mentioned, in the reign of Edward I., for there exists the order issued by that monarch to the citizens for the erection of a new wall to run from Ludgate westward behind the houses in Fleet Ditch, and then south as far as the Thames, at the head of which was to be built a tower for the reception of his Majesty. Edward II., hearing that portions of this new wall were unfinished, issued a royal mandate in the year 1310 to the mayor and corporation enjoining them to use the utmost despatch in completing the same.

The basement of this tower was met with some forty years ago, when altering the Milton club-house on Ludgate Hill. It proved to be of solid masonry, about twenty feet wide by thirteen feet deep.

One of the best decriptions of the wall is that by Dr. Woodward in the year 1707. This I am induced to quote at length, from the circumstance that the portion described happens to be that which marks the site of the present discoveries; and also for the purpose of comparing his description with a very accurate report by the late Mr. Devonshire Saull, F.S.A. of an examination of the

* Ancient Topography of London. J. T. Smith, 1815.

wall when exposed in the course of excavation for the erection of the French Protestant church at the east end of Bull and Mouth Street, Aldersgate, in 1841.

"The City Wall," writes Dr. Woodward, "being upon this occasion, to make way for these new buildings, broke up and beat to pieces from Bishopsgate onwards south-east, as far as they extend, an opportunity was given of observing the fabric and composition of it. From the foundation, which lay eight feet below the present surface, quite up to the top, which was in all near ten feet, it was compiled alternately of layers of broad flat bricks and of ragstone. The bricks lay in double range; and, each brick being but one inch and three-tenths in thickness, the whole layer, with the mortar interposed, exceeded not three inches. The layers of stone were not quite two feet thick of our measure. It was probable they were intended for two of the Roman, their rule being somewhat shorter than ours. To this height the workmanship was after the Roman manner; and there were the remains of the ancient wall supposed to be built by Constantine the Great. In this it was very observable that the mortar was, as usually in the Roman work, so very firm and hard that the stone itself as easily broke and gave way as that. It was thus far, from the foundation upwards, nine feet in thickness. And a little lower," he adds, "the broad thin bricks above mentioned were all of Roman make, and of the very sort we learn from Pliny that were in common use among the Romans, being in length a foot and a half of their standard, and in breadth a foot. Measuring some of these very carefully, I found them seventeen inches and four-tenths in length, eleven inches and six-tenths in breadth, and one inch and three-tenths in thickness of our measure. The old wall having been demolished, as hath been intimated above, was afterwards repaired again, and carried up of the same thickness to eight or nine feet in height, or, if higher, there was no more of that work now standing. All this was apparently additional, and of a make later than the other part underneath it. That was levelled at top and brought to a plane in order to the raising this new work upon it. The outside, or that towards the suburbs, was faced with a coarse sort of stone, not compiled with any great care or skill, nor disposed into a regular method, but on the inside there appeared more marks of workmanship and art. At the bottom were five layers composed of squares of flint and of freestone; though they were not so in all parts, yet in some the squares were near equal, about five inches diameter, and ranged in a quincunx order. Over these were a layer of brick, then of hewn freestone, and so alternately brick and stone to the top. There were of the bricks in all six layers, each consisting only of a double course, except that which lay above, and in which there were four courses of bricks where the layer was entire. These bricks were of the shape of those now

in use, but much larger, being near eleven inches in length, five in breadth, and somewhat above two and a-half in thickness. Of the stone there were five layers, and each of equal thickness in all parts for its whole length. The highest and lowest of these were somewhat above a foot in thickness, the three middle layers each five inches, so that the whole height of this additional work was near nine feet. As to the interior parts, or the main bulk of the wall, it was made up of pieces of rubble stone, with a few bricks of the same sort as those used in the inner facing of the wall, laid uncertainly, as they happened to come to hand, and not in any stated method. There was not one of the broad thin bricks, mentioned above, in all this part, nor was the mortar here near so hard as in that below, but from the description may be easily collected, that this part, when first made and entire, with so various and orderly a disposition of materials, flint-stone and bricks, could but carry a very elegant and handsome aspect. Whether this was done at the expense of the barons in the reign of King John, or of the citizens in the reign of King Henry III. or of King Richard II. or at what other time, I cannot take upon me to ascertain from accounts so defective and obscure as are those which at this day remain of this affair. Upon the additional work now described was raised a wall wholly of brick; only that, it terminating in battlements, these are topped with copings of stone. It was two feet four inches in thickness, and somewhat above eight feet in height. The bricks of this are of the same module and size with those of the part underneath. How long they had been in use is uncertain."

In the description given by Mr. Saull, the author advances the opinion that the whole of the City Wall belonged to one period, that it was erected in accordance with a uniform plan consistent with the practice of the Roman architects, that the materials were brought to the spot and the tile prepared and the excavations dug previous to their commencing the work; hence the regularity of the plan, uniformity of execution, and the massiveness of structure. On the 10th February, 1842, he communicated to the Society of Antiquaries of London a description of the foundations then recently discovered near Aldersgate. He writes :—"The portion of wall exposed to view ran east and west, and its continuation under the present pavement indicates the exact spot where stood the entrance into the City in this direction, this being the northern gate, until about a century ago, when Aldersgate, which had sustained material damage in the Great Fire of 1666, was taken down. At the depth of 11½ feet from the present surface, immediately resting on a loamy clay, was found a layer of angular flint-stones as a basement; these, no doubt, were closely rammed down. This mass is now infiltrated by an unctuous brown clay, probably the effects of percolation

from the circumjacent earth; these flints are continued to the height of 1 foot 6 inches; above which are placed layers of angular uncut stones imbedded in grouting or mortar used by the Romans in the construction of buildings intended to be permanent. This stone is chiefly the Kentish ragstone or green sandstone of geologists, abundant in the neighbourhood of Maidstone, interspersed with dark brown ferruginous sandstone, an upper division of the same geological series; this portion extends in height 4 feet 6 inches, and is covered by two courses of tiles laid horizontally; these tiles are 1½ inch in thickness, and about 18 inches by 12 inches square; they are imbedded in the same kind of mortar or grouting which has been mentioned. Above these tiles is another portion of wall constructed of the ragstone, only extending in height 2 feet 6 inches; over this are two courses of tiles, surmounted by another course of Kentish ragstone, the pieces of which it is composed being smaller in size than those below, but constructed in a similar manner and terminating 18 inches under the present pavement. This foundation wall is about 10 feet in height, and gradually becomes narrower in the different ascending stages, the flint basement being 9½ feet in width, the first division of the wall above the flints 9 feet, the next part above the tiles 7 feet, the next stage decreasing, until at the present level it is only 6 feet in width." In this description by Mr. Saull no reference is made to the facing of the wall; the squared blocks being absent on either side probably accounts for the difference in the width, which is usually about 8 feet. About four years ago excavations were in progress at the other end of Bull and Mouth Street, and the City Wall was again disclosed. Some 70 or 80 feet of it was uncovered, and this differed but little in structure from the portion described by Mr. Saull. Through the kindness of the late Mr. Thomas Renton, Surveyor to Christ's Hospital, I had the opportunity of inspecting the wall as it was removed. It was his opinion that the fabric altogether was of a later date than the Roman age. The blocks of chalk and ragstone had been embedded with but little care in badly-made mortar, very different from that usually found in Roman masonry. The lime, he told me, appeared to have been thrown in in splashes, and with but little mixture with the sand, which had clearly been obtained from the locality.*

* A portion of the Wall still exists beneath the foundations of buildings belonging to Messrs. Tylor and Son of Newgate Street. It was discovered a few years since in the course of excavations for their premises in Warwick Lane, and is one of the few pieces which retains the facing-stones. It adjoined the ancient hostelry known as the Oxford Arms, now pulled down. With a creditable desire to preserve a portion of the structure the wall was not all removed, but Messrs. Tylor had sufficient soil cleared from its foundations to afford future access to what remained, and the interesting relic can still be seen by means of a trap-door placed within their premises. It, however, possesses no peculiarities to distinguish it from

Comparing these descriptions it is obvious that the fashion adopted in the construction was in each case uniform and consistent with one regular preconceived plan. There is no distinctive difference. All essential details, even to actual measurements, harmonise throughout, whether the portion referred to marks the eastern or western boundary of the City. It has been our practice to ascribe the western extension to a later period, and claim for the mural remains in the east of London a high antiquity, but in the presence of more extended observation, with inscriptions still absent, and history altogether silent as to date, this uniformity and regularity can but point to one period, and that extremely late, if not, as already suggested, subsequent to the Roman occupation of the city.

In April, 1844, in the course of excavations to the east of St. Botolph's, Aldgate, the workmen came across the foundations of the wall. They were about 15 feet from the surface, and of the usual strength and width. A short time previous another portion was exposed at a similar depth, near Duke Street, Houndsditch. It appeared to have crossed the lower end of Houndsditch, and ran beneath the burial-ground of St. Botolph's.

As recently as 1852, a large portion of London Wall, to the height of 30 feet, was to be seen at the back of Trinity Square, Tower Hill. This fragment is still standing, but has of late years been hidden from view by the erection of extensive buildings. A record of a careful examination of its construction has been preserved by Mr. Roach Smith in his Illustrations of Roman London. The description agrees with that of other portions along the line; the foundation of clay and flints, then some 12 inches of concrete and boulders, next the row of large stones, then the smaller blocks neatly worked and cut, and the binding-course of three rows of red tiles as recently seen at Camomile Street. An account of this portion of the wall also appears in the eighth volume of the Journal of the British Archæological Association, by A. H. Burkitt, Esq. F.S.A.; he speaks of blocks of fine red sandstone, each beveled off at the sides and projecting from the rest of the work. The occurrence of these stones, he writes, is peculiar, as in no other portion of the wall has that same sort of stone been used, as well as from the fact of their having been derived from a quarry at some distance from that of the stone used in the other parts of the building. The entire range of these extended

portions elsewhere described. Its perfect condition enabled me to obtain accurate measurements and to note the method of construction. Its first appearance was at a short distance from the surface-level of the yard at the rear of Newgate, and its height was altogether about 8 feet. At a distance of 1 foot 2 inches from the ground-level were three rows of the red bonding-tiles, each 1½ inch in thickness, with wide mortar-joints; next, a space of rubble and Kentish rag, and then two more rows of tiles of like thickness to the others. Above them, a space of 3 feet 2 inches led to the level of the broken surface. A piece about 4 feet long, in which the facing-stones remain, is now preserved.

to thirty in number, the sizes varying from one to two feet in length and eleven inches in thickness.

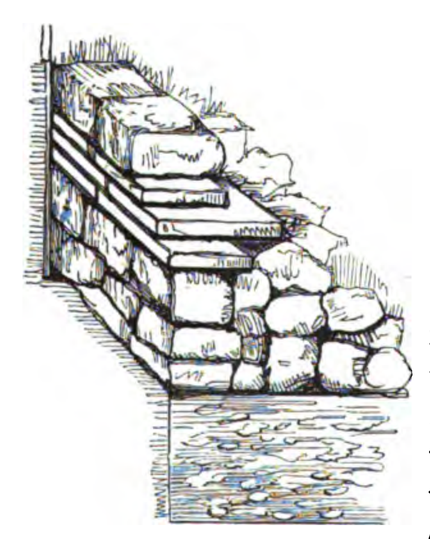
This record is interesting, and the more so because our recent excavations have illustrated the objects of these "blocks of sandstone," and shown how thoroughly uniform was the plan pursued in the construction of the wall.

They represent a course of ironstone blocks so laid as to form a "plinth" or a plain projecting face at the base of the wall and just above the ground. This plinth we found in Camomile Street to be continuous in its course. It yet exists at the south-western end of that part of the wall which still lies buried in this thoroughfare and serves as a foundation for existing buildings. The blocks measured from twelve inches to three feet in length, in this respect agreeing with dimensions recorded by Mr. Burkitt. Such a plinth is no unusual occurrence. It may be observed in the City Wall at Carlisle. It is generally believed that the border city was unwalled in Roman times, and it is the opinion of Mr. R. S. Ferguson, F.S.A., who has paid much attention to the subject, that the wall, portions of which yet remain, was constructed early in the twelfth century. It contains numerous fragments of stone of Roman date, re-used as building material. Against the wall at Tower Hill there stood a buttress or bastion erected in later times—perhaps as late as the middle ages—at a period when memorials of a bygone age, long protected by superstitious reverence, became the prey of architects and builders. This structure, like that now cleared away, was entirely composed of materials collected through the destruction of ancient monuments; no less than forty cart-loads of sculptured stones were removed, which varied in size from two to five superficial feet; several were even larger, and comprised for the most part sepulchral memorials, fragments of tombs, and inscriptions, mouldings of varied patterns, pilasters and capitals, blocks of oolitic stone coated with plaster, on which were described devices and letters in a red colour, portions of quern-stones, &c., &c. The annexed illustration, kindly lent by the proprietors of The Builder, in which journal a report of the discovery was published at the time, will give an idea of the nature of the objects found and provide material for comparison with the discoveries before us. It will hereafter be observed that many of the stones figured are identical in character with the massive blocks which made up the bastion in Camomile Street, and this selection, coupled with the nature of the objects deposited, points to one period for the erection of both structures. That some superstition or ceremonial was to be observed in the selection is rendered probable from the circumstance of a quern or millstone of Rhenish lava being associated with the sculptures in both cases.

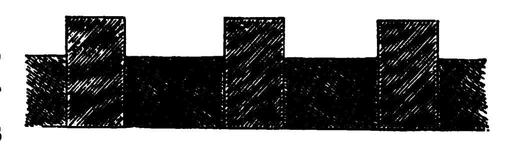
In Dr. Woodward's description he makes no mention of the face of the wall which the present excavations have afforded us the opportunity of seeing, nor is there any note of the nature of the foundation upon which a structure so massive was erected. We found this to have been a bed of flints and clay, forming a kind



of concrete without lime, and it was two or three feet above this foundation that the actual work appeared. The length of the wall was upwards of sixty feet, and was first observed at a depth of from ten to twelve feet below the level of the road. The space comprised the site of four houses, and the buildings now removed are doubtless those referred to by the Doctor as about to be erected. Their basements had been constructed on the wall, and when destroyed we observed that the kitchens and sculleries had been paved with the tiles which had been taken from it. In many cases there were pieces only, as though broken in removal, and the whole afterwards grouted together to form a level surface. The width of the wall was a little over eight feet, and the method of its construction is similar to that described by Dr. Woodward. Its inside face appeared to have been of more careful workmanship than the outer, though both seemed to present a finished appearance of irregular coursed ragstone work.



The arrangement of the bricks or bonding-tiles is shown by the annexed woodcut. The portion drawn measured two feet six inches in height exclusive of the foundation, and the space occupied by the first course of tiles was seven inches; the mortar joints between them being wide and significant of late work. The perfect tiles which we had an opportunity of measuring were of the usual size, about eighteen inches by twelve and one inch and three-eighths thick. The method of laying them was that technically known as "header and stretcher," or Flemish bond.



In Plate I. there is shown a general plan of the site, together with elevation and sections both of the bastion and the wall. These are drawn to scale, and such descriptive details added as we were enabled to verify during the progress of the works. The bastion was nearly twenty feet in diameter; it rested upon the natural soil of London clay, which had been simply levelled by compressing together masses of chalk into the clay, for a thickness which varied from two to three inches. With the exception of huge blocks of oolite and green sandstone, which formed the nucleus of the structure, the stone employed in building was the familiar Kentish ragstone rubble, with a facing in random courses of the same material. The size of the blocks of which this facing was composed varied from three to eight and a half inches thick and from five to fourteen inches long. The extrados of the bastion is shown in the illustration which forms our frontispiece, and this portion, to a great extent, remains intact under the basement floor of the new buildings, together with masses of masonry which was neither safe nor desirable to remove. In the section a sharp line may be observed indicating the relation of the bastion to the wall. That they were erected at different periods is proved by the presence of the ironstone plinth which ran behind the bastion without interruption along the face of the main wall. The plinth or wall-face at this spot appears to mark the boundary of the property, as it does of the wards of Bishopsgate Within and Bishopsgate Without. We were unable to ascertain whether a similar plinth had been carried along the external face of the bastion in order to harmonise with the general design, for the foundations of the latter did not appear until we were below what would have been the level of the line. In one place a portion of the bastion had been cut away in order to construct a well in comparatively recent times. Though shown to be of later date than the erection of the wall, and separated from it in places by an intervening space filled in with rubble, there were yet signs that the masonry of the bastion had been toothed or chased into the wall for the purpose of acquiring solidity and strength.

Though carefully looked for, neither in the wall nor in the bastion could there be found any specimen of Roman brick or mortar, that is to say, *in situ*, and forming part of the construction. Several pieces of both were forthcoming unattached, and thrown in as building material. Masses of the *opus Signinum*,* the red-coloured mortar so significant of Roman work, were collected, with much of it still adhering to large pieces of tile. This mortar varies in appearance, but is all alike as to the nature of the ingredients of which it is composed, viz., pounded brick or tile, with a large preponderance of lime. In some cases these masses of Roman mortar would have but the characteristics of concrete, in others it was so finely made as to impart to the whole the well-known salmon-coloured tint. Such mortar can never be mistaken; it tells at once of Roman origin; but though plentiful in fragments, in no single instance that came within our observation had any been used either by the builders of the bastion or the wall. The fragments were pieces originally belonging to more ancient structures, and had simply been employed as wedges, and for purposes of filling-in. It was, however, at the foundation of the structure that evidence appeared of the post-Roman date to which the erection of the bastion must be assigned. Beneath the lowest bed of stone, and near to the centre of the structure, a portion of green glazed pottery was found. It was merely the handle of a pitcher, but the ware, to say nothing of the glaze with which it was coated, was sufficient to indicate that neither the pottery nor the bastion beneath which it was found could be attributed to the Roman age. It is, however, but fair to mention that the presence of such green-glazed earthenware is not always decisive evidence as to date. While the fabrication of this description of pottery was the rule in Norman and early English times, it is known to have been in use at a much earlier period. In the Kircherian Museum of the Collegio Romano at Rome I noticed many earthenware lamps of high antiquity coated with this peculiar vitreous glaze. In the collections also at the Louvre there are examples of green-glazed pottery from Tarsus, in Cilicia. Our own country, too, is not wanting in illustrations. The Rev. Charles Wellbeloved, in his "Eburacum," remarks how with undoubted remains of Roman earthenware he frequently found

* See C. Plinii Secundi Naturalis Historiæ, liber xxxv. 47. Quid non excogitavit ars? fractis testis utendo sic, ut firmius durent tusis calce addita quæ vocant Signina, quo genere etiam pavimenta excogitavit. The *opus Signinum* took its name from Signina, in Italy, celebrated for its tiles. It was largely employed in the aqueducts at Rome. Illustrations of its use appear also in buildings discovered both on the Cælian and Esquiline Hills. A similar cement is still used in modern Italy, under the name of "coccio pisto."

Plate II

E

F

J.P. & W.R. Emslie, London.

PLAN OF BASTION AND WALL AT C.D. SHEWING LOWER COURSES

E

F

J. P. & W. R. Emslie, London

PLAN OF BASTION AND WALL AT A. B. SHEWING UPPER COURSES

fragments and entire vessels of a coarse description, generally of a yellowish white clay with a strong glaze of various shades of green. He states that at Carlisle, fifteen feet below the surface, and beneath several fragments of Samian ware, were discovered two such ancient pitchers, which inclined him to regard them as the work of Roman potters. In his "Pottery and Porcelain" Mr. Chaffers describes a water-pitcher with mottled green glaze on the upper part. This was ten inches high, and was discovered at a depth of twelve to fourteen feet in Queen Street, Cheapside, in the year 1842.* Vessels of this particular form are represented in an illuminated MS. of the eleventh century, where servants are taking pitchers from the cupboard, filling them with water, and carrying it to the Saviour to be changed into wine at the marriage at Cana.† Similar pottery has been found in the pits at Ewell in Surrey and at Colchester in Essex.

In Plate II. we have a section of the bastion and an illustration of the manner in which the stones were laid. The main wall is seen at E, and the intervening filling-in of rubble between it and the first row of stones is also shown; the massive character of the latter in proportion to the diameter of the structure is at once apparent. They were in no way injured, and considerable attention had evidently been given both to their general arrangement and the method by which they had been wedged and fitted into their respective situations, the intention being to produce by weight and size a solid mass of masonry of considerable strength. Altogether there were between forty and fifty blocks, in addition to the figure of a lion in bold relief, the head of a human figure of colossal size, and a broken statue of a Roman soldier. The position selected for these more important objects is well defined in Plate III. which has been copied from Mr. Hodges's drawing taken at the time. If the builders of the bastion had been desirous of saving such precious relics from destruction they could hardly have devised better means for their preservation. The figure of the lion appears to have been most carefully fitted into the position assigned to it, as does the statue of the soldier, which was in three or four pieces. The head had been broken off at the neck and was found placed, may be purposely, between the ankles. With the exception of these fragments it has of course been impossible to show in the sections the carving or ornamentation as seen on the different blocks of stone, they are therefore purposely left white in the drawing; those that are shaded are merely so distinguished in order to indicate where certain blocks have been placed above others. Those possessing any interest from the work upon them have been separately engraved, and will be referred to in due

* Marks and Monograms on Pottery and Porcelain, page 29.

† Cotton MSS. Nero, C. iv.

course. As previously mentioned, they comprised fluted pilasters, shafts of half-columns, portions of canopies, cornices, door-jambs, and other objects. They were mostly of oolite, a stone favoured by the Romans, others belonged to the lower green-sand formation. The former may have been brought to London from Bath, Northamptonshire, Rutland, or Portland, the others probably from Kent. Both abound in fossils, and the actual beds could doubtless be ascertained, but it would by no means follow that quarries worked in the present day are necessarily those whence the Romans extracted their materials. Professor Tennant, F.G.S., to whom I submitted specimens for examination, informs me, for example, that some of the carvings in Westminster Abbey have been wrought on stone procured from beds long since exhausted or unworked. It is impossible, therefore, to offer any explanation as to the locality whence the stones were derived. The work upon them, however, was strictly local, for in some cases the carvings were unfinished. In one the outlines only had been commenced upon the stone; in another, the mason's work appeared so sharp and new that it would seem to have but recently left the workman's hand. No mortar appeared on any except in places where masses of concrete had been wedged between the blocks, as building material for the bastion. There were lewis-holes* on many, on others places for iron cramps; in some instances portions of the latter were still remaining in the stone, fastened in position with lead, as is the practice in the present day. Some of the stones were deeply grooved. On others there appeared cavities at the angles, which from being filled up with iron and lead inclined us to the opinion that certain of the stones had once formed part of a gate or doorway. There were indications of socket and pivot, with grooves and holes for bars. Such illustrations are by no means uncommon among the *débris* of Roman buildings. Writing of the antiquities of Jublains, in France, Mr. Roach Smith describes the *castrum*, and, speaking of the defences, remarks, that the south-east room attached to the *castellum* was constructed of massive stones, and had been closed by a door of equal strength, with three bars dropping into deeply-cut grooves upon the side.† In the eighth volume of the Journal of the British Archæological Association there is an illustration of one of the basement stories of one of the gates discovered at the station of Borrowbridge in the North of England. It shows the socket-hole into which the iron bolt of the gate turned, and that portion of the

* Formed just as they are at the present day. The machine for the purpose was said to take its name from Louis XIV. of France, to whom the invention was attributed. We see, however, that this contrivance for raising large masses of stone is one of extreme antiquity.

† Collectanea Antiqua, vol. iii. p. cxi.

structure which had been cut away to prevent the gate opening or shutting too far.* Similar remains were observed by Mr. H. Glasford Potter at Birdoswald, the Amboglanna of the Romans. In his interesting papers descriptive of this fortress he mentions that immediately behind the pillars or *antepagmenta* of the gate were such holes or sockets in the stones, in which the pivots or *cardines* of the gates had moved. He refers also to an interesting feature which may hereafter be useful for comparison. Speaking of the socket on the south side, he says, that the bottom formed an inclined plane with a deep groove at the lowest part, which was towards the outside of the gate. The effect of this arrangement would be that the gate, when opened, would rise a little from the ground, and when not held open would shut by its own gravity; the gate would then fall against a part of the threshold which rose two or three inches above the bottom of the gate when closed. A patent for this description of hinge was taken out as for a modern invention some few years since.

Upon the Houndsditch side we observed the black made-up soil defining the position of the old city ditch, as described by Stowe.† This, he writes, "compassed the wall of the city, and was begun to be made by the Londoners in the year 1211, and was finished in the year 1213, the fifteenth of King John. This ditch being then made of 200 feet broad caused no small hindrance to the Canons of the Holy Trinity, whose church stood near unto Aldgate, for that the said ditch passed through their ground from the Tower of London unto Bishopsgate. This ditch, being originally made for the defence of the city, was also long together carefully cleansed and maintained as need required, but now of late neglected, and forced either to a very narrow and the same a filthy channel, or altogether stopped up for gardens planted, and houses built thereon even to the very wall, and in many places upon both ditch and wall houses to be built, to what danger to the city I leave to wider consideration, and can but wish that reformation might be had." We had no means of ascertaining any fact of interest in connection with the ditch; Mr. Brock traced it to a width of some sixty feet, and observes that it came quite up to the southern edge of Houndsditch.‡ If ever two hundred feet in width, as Stowe records, a large amount of earth must have been removed and cleared at the time of its formation. So vast a work would have revealed many indications of Roman sepulture, for the land reclaimed was part of that which centuries before had belonged to the ancient cemetery, and, if we may assume the bastion to have been erected about the period when repairs

* British Archæological Journal, vol. viii. p. 35. † Lib. Dunstable. Lib. Trinitat.

‡ See Journal of British Archæological Association, vol. xxxii. p. 492.

and additions to the wall are known to have been progressing, the presence of the sculptures found in its foundations may be easily accounted for.

Of these objects, the most interesting is that of the statue of a Roman soldier. This is shown by the annexed illustration prepared from a photograph taken at the time of the discovery. It is seen as inclosed in a recess or niche, which is not only indicated by the portion of stone which rises above the left shoulder but by the debased Corinthian pilaster which appears on the same side; this, with an arched or semi-circular canopy connecting the two, was probably repeated on the other. To the right of this pilaster there is a hole or cavity in the side, doubtless cut for the insertion of an iron cramp or bar to keep the monument in position. The statue is of oolite, is in high relief, and boldly cut. It represents a man apparently in the prime of life and attired in costume indicative of his order. So rarely do we meet with any representation of the human form among the ruins of Roman London that the discovery of a figure so finely chiselled is an event which calls for more than a passing notice. That our city—noted in the days of Tacitus for its merchants and its trade—should be embellished by statues of men once distinguished in its service is only natural, and it is possible that this figure, whether as a sepulchral monument or as attached to a public building, may commemorate an individual once noted for his military career, but who on retiring from the service became as a civilian a personage equal in importance, and attached, may be, to the magistracy of Londinium. On such a supposition we can explain the association there is between the details of the costume, both military and civilian, which have shortly to be considered. Such association is not confined to Roman monuments. It may be observed in those belonging to medieval times. The effigy of Alderman Sir John Crosby of 1475, in our own church of Great St. Helens, is attired in such a fashion. On the sepulchral brass of Sir William Harper, in St. Paul's church, Bedford, date 1573, the knight is represented in full armour, but over it appears the Alderman's gown. The effigies of Sir Thomas Rowe, Lord Mayor 1567, Sir Henry Rowe, Lord Mayor 1607, formerly in Hackney church, may be also given as illustrations.

The figure measures, from the crown of the head to where the right leg has been broken off, say, four feet three inches. Allowing some eight inches for the foot, and assuming other proportions of the human figure, the statue would be rather over five feet high. The length of the face is about seven inches and a quarter. The full width of the monument is three feet six. That a portrait has been intended is evidenced by the details exhibited; the heavy head, closely cropped hair, the depression in the temples, thinness of the cheeks, and projecting



ROMAN SCULPTURE, CAMOMILE STREET, BISHOPSGATE.

eyes, together with the nose, which, though broken and injured, was clearly wide instead of thin, are all indications of an attempt at portraiture. The peculiar rigid stare gives to the features generally a fixed and unpleasant, not to say repulsive, expression; this probably would be lessened were the figure seen from a distance, as may have originally been intended. There is nothing to indicate that any inscription once formed part of the monument, but one probably existed either above or below the figure; a fragment of the same description of oolitic stone being found, upon which a few letters remain. It was associated with the other relics, but whether in any way connected with the statue it is impossible to say.

As regards the costume, its most interesting feature is the mantle or outer garment. This is probably a variety of the *pænula* or civilian's cloak, a dress worn over the tunic, and adapted more especially for long journeys or for use in cold or damp weather; one therefore which would be needed in this climate. It was usually made from cloth, sometimes of leather, and differed materially from the *paludamentum* or *sagum*, which were military garments made from similar though richer material, simply thrown across the body and fastened on the shoulder by a fibula or brooch. This article of dress was adopted by the Romans from the Gauls; at one time it had sleeves, but was divested of them on its introduction into Italy. The *pænula*, on the contrary, was a habit without sleeves, and belongs to a variety of garments known as *vestimenta clausa*, or close dresses. A true *pænula* was not unlike the modern South American poncho, circular in shape, and having but an orifice in the middle for the head to go through. It sometimes had a *cucullus* or hood, a form of cowl which, hanging below the neck, could be drawn up over the head, thus serving as a protection from the weather, reminding us of that which the monks of St. Basil and St. Anthony were commanded to wear, the hood or *capuche* identified with the Capuchin monks in the early part of the sixteenth century. On uncovering the head this accessory could be pushed backwards, simply exposing in front the natural folds which in sculpture may well be mistaken for an overlapping collar. This was the ordinary form, and has been considered to find modern illustration on early representations of the chasuble as preserved in the Catacombs of Rome.*

The addition of the hood is frequently referred to in the works of early writers. Juvenal † speaks of its use by the upper classes or for the purposes of

* Bosio, Roma Sotteranea, lib. iii. cap. xxxvii. peinture de la chambre du cimetière de Saint Marcellin.

† Juvenal, vi. 330.

disguise, but its appearance in statuary or frescoes is usually where the individual represented belonged to a class whose occupation involved exposure to the weather, it being under ordinary circumstances the fashion for the head to remain uncovered. The manufacture of such hoods gave rise to certain distinctive names, originating in the districts whence they were supplied; for example, the *Bardo cucullus* of Martial—*

> Gallia Santonico vestit te bardo cucullo,
> Cercopethecorum pænula nuper erat.

a variety emanating from a Gallic people, the Santones, a tribe occupying cities to the north of the Garonne; or, again, those more particularly from the Bardæi of Illyria, whence the name was probably derived. This appendage to the



pænula is shown in the above woodcut, copied from an early representation of Mercury in his quality of messenger.

* Martial, Ep. lib. xiv. cxxviii.

As an outer garment the *pænula* was made of serviceable material. This was usually a thick strong cloth, the *gausape* of Martial, or sometimes of leather, the *scortea* of the same author.* There were other forms, viz., the *lacerna* and the *byrrhus;* to each of which hoods could be attached. They bore a strong resemblance to the *pænula,* with which they have often been confused by modern writers. Montfaucon,† speaking of the *byrrhus,* compares it with the *lacerna,* adding that it took its name from a Greek word signifying something reddish, πυῤῥὸς, it being usually of a red colour. The term appears to have originated the Italian word for cap, *beretta.* Its application in later days has been more especially to cape, head-covering, or cowl. The *lacerna* was a dress of Gaulish origin. It was adopted by the Romans, but belongs to a later period than does the *pænula,* from which it differs in its being a loose and not a close-fitting cloak or mantle. It was not unlike the *chlamys* of the Greeks, which could be worn in many ways and represent very different characters. Mr. Rich in his valuable Dictionary‡ has engraved some examples from the Panathenaic frieze in the British Museum. In one case the mantle was passed round the back of the neck, and the two corners brought together in front of the throat, where they were joined by a buckle, clasp, or brooch, so that the gores might be turned back over the shoulders *demissa ex humeris,*§ and the middle or largest part would hang down behind as far as the knees; or a portion of the garment might be folded over and fastened sideways over the right shoulder by means of the fibula, so that, while the mantle completely enveloped the left arm, the right, as well as the whole side, remained uncovered; the four corners thus hung down on the same side, parallel to one another, two in front and two behind. Such an arrangement we subsequently find in the warrior's cloak, or *sagum,* of the Romans. The *lacerna* covered the body, but was open down the front, and only fastened at the throat. There were also other differences between it and the *pænula;* while the latter might be worn as a protection in bad weather, the former was of thinner material, and a costume appropriate for under cover. Thus, when the Emperor‖ was expected to be present at the theatre, white was considered to be the most becoming colour of the *lacernæ* to be worn.

Amphitheatrali, nos commendamus ab usu,
Cum teget algentes alba lacerna togas.¶

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* Martial, Ep. lib. xiv. 145 et 130.

† Montfaucon, L'Antiquité expliqué par les Figures, lib. iii. cap. vii.

‡ Page 154.

§ Æneid, 263.

‖ Suetonius, Claudius, vi.

¶ Martial, lib. xiv. cxxxvii.

Being loose, it could be worn over the *toga;* indeed, was sufficiently ample to cover any garment.

Representations of these dresses appear in the able essay of Bartholini on this subject.* This author is usually quoted by writers when treating of Roman costume, but generally with reserve as to the authenticity of the illustrations given. This is probably due to the scarcity of examples, and it is an interesting feature in the City discovery that the outer dress or cape worn by the soldier serves to substantiate as correct the definition of a *pænula* as given by Bartholini. The annexed woodcuts are copied from those published in the various editions of his



Fig. 1. Fig. 2.

work, as is the figure of Mercury to which reference has been already made. The distinction which exists between the close-fitting coat and that which is open and simply fastened at the throat is clearly shown. In figure 1 we identify the *lacerna*, while in figure 2 we have a form of *pænula* which resembles that worn by our figure. In the City example the garment appears to have been buttoned or sewn across the chest, the seam extending about half way down. In figure 2

* Bartolus Bartholinus, De Penula, in Thesaurus Antiquatum Romanarum, Grævius, vol. vi.

there is no appearance of seam or button, the material being in one piece until the point of division, which enabled the wearer to pick up either or both of the flaps and throw them across the shoulders. It is possible that the studs or buttons may have been intended for ornaments only. This is in our case probable, because at the point of division there are indications of a cord or string so placed as to prevent the material from tearing or slitting upwards. In such a dress we note points of resemblance to the early body garment or overcoat known as the *armiclausa*. This was a military dress, and worn over the armour. An illustration exists among the bas-reliefs at the Louvre in Paris. It appears on a monument to Maccenius, a centurion of the tenth legion, and has been quoted as answering to the description of such a garment as preserved by Isidorus. It was a vestment with short sleeves divided in front, reaching to the knees, open before and behind, but closed upon the shoulders. "Armilausa vulgo vocata quod ante et retro divisa, atque aperta est, in armos tantum clausa quasi armiclausa." *

This word occurs in a collection of Latin and Anglo-Saxon glosses from a manuscript of the eleventh century. Such glosses were for the use of teachers in the medieval schools, who required assistance in explaining the old Latin words to their scholars of the Saxon race. It is here rendered *serce,* a shirt, and in a note by the late Mr. Thomas Wright, M.A., on the meaning of the word, he quotes as an illustration the *sagum,* or military cloak, open at the sides, but covering the back and breast. The explanation is hardly satisfactory, because the *sagum* was neither coat, cape, nor cloak, but a square or rectangular piece of cloth, which when off the figure could be spread out like a sheet, but when on was folded in two and fastened by a brooch, or tied in a knot on the top of the shoulder. The word is that used by Suetonius in his life of Otho, where one of the amusements of that emperor is said to have been running about in the night-time, seizing on any one he met, who was either too intoxicated or too feeble to resist, and toss him in a blanket, "Distento sago impositum in sublime jactare." The *armiclausa,* however, was close-fitting, and has more in common with the *pænula* worn by our figure than any other similar form of dress.† It is probable that the word has been used at different times for the description of garments widely dissimilar, but the resemblance between that worn by Maccenius and the City figure is both striking and curious. The name survived to the Middle Ages. In the Dictionary of John de Erlande, dating from the early part of the thirteenth century,‡ it is more properly defined as cloak, and so again in a

* Origen, lib. xix. cap. 22.

† See Note on the *Armilausa*, by M. E. Saglio, in Dictionnaire des Antiquités Grecques et Romaines.

‡ Vocabularies from the Tenth to the Fifteenth Century, edited by Thomas Wright, F.S.A.

vocabulary of the fifteenth century. If, however, the studs or buttons indicate that the garment was to be so fastened we are reminded of a monument to a Pannonian soldier, which has been figured in an early work.* The figure is that of a centurion. He wears a coat, laced or buttoned across the chest by no less than nine fastenings. The garment is fitted also with short sleeves. The Pannonians are mentioned in one of the military diplomas of Trajan† as serving in Britain, but whether this peculiar form of dress may be viewed as part of their accustomed uniform I am as yet unable to ascertain.



Among the figures upon Trajan's Column there are a few interesting examples of civilian dress. The illustration selected explains more clearly than can any

* Muratori, Thesaurus Veterum Inscriptionum, tom. 2, p. DCCLXXV.

† See description of the Malpas Diploma, found in Cheshire in the year 1812, and now in the British Museum. It was issued in the year when Trajan held the "*tribunicia potestas*" for the seventh time, answering to A.D. 104. Lapidarium Septentrionale, by the Rev. J. C. Bruce, M.A. page 3. Few traces of the Pannonians have been found in Britain. Their country is now modern Hungary. They are mentioned in this diploma, and a record exists connected with the second cohort. Dr. Bruce writes: "In the Cawfields, Milecastle, the tombstone of a soldier of this cohort was found, and at Chesterholm the tombstone of a person described as a *Miles Pannonicus* was discovered."

description the way in which such garments were worn during the best period of Roman history. The group is taken from that portion of the column* which refers to the Second Dacian War entered upon by Trajan A.D. 104. The Emperor has landed at one of the important colonies on the banks of the Danube, and the scene is a triumphal procession through the city. It is full of life and action; on one side there are the legionaries including the lictors with their fasces. In the crowd are bearded colonists accompanied by their wives and children. The military are readily identified by the under tunic and the *sagum* or soldier's mantle. As a central figure, the Emperor is standing at an altar surrounded by all the preparations for an approaching sacrifice. On his left there is another crowd. Its members differ from the others in the absence of the military element. Here all are civilians and apparently officers of distinction. They are saluting the Emperor, and the social position they hold is signified by the presence of the scroll which each carries in the left hand. They may be senators, orators, or advocates, heads of colleges or surveyors,† or other important officials connected with the new colony. In the figure to the left we see how a portion of the cloak might be thrown across the shoulder without disturbing the remainder. In the third and fourth figures the partial division of the material is well defined, but neither in these figures nor in those recorded by Bartholini do we notice seam or buttons such as appear upon our City figure.

From the manner in which the drapery is disposed across the shoulders we may infer that the right arm of our soldier was uplifted, and that in his hand he grasped either spear or standard. This freeing of the arm exposes the tunic or undercoat beneath. The *tunica* was the principal underclothing of the Greeks and Romans, corresponding with the shirt or blouse of our own time. Its history,‡ writes Planché, "extends far beyond the time of the colonisation of these islands, and with the exception of the cloak or mantle was, in one form or other, the earliest article of apparel in the world." The ordinary form, such as that worn by the figure, was a simple frock or shirt made from woollen or linen cloth. It was girt about the waist, and reached nearly to the knees. Sleeves were sometimes added, short or long, according to the taste or inclination of the wearer, at times extending to the wrists, and ornamented by fringe or border. Such a

* See Plate 115 in Description des Bas Reliefs de la Colonne Trajane, par Gustave Arosa. Paris, 1872.

† Facing the title-page to the first volume of Lachmann's edition of the "Gromatici Veteres," Berlin, 1848-52, is a representation of a monument to an "Agrimensor," or Surveyor. The figure is seated, and holds in the left hand such a scroll as that to which I have referred. This work also contains the report of Balbus the Surveyor, who was associated with the expedition of Trajan into Dacia.

‡ Cyclopædia of Costume, by J. R. Planché, F.S.A. 1879, page 509.

fashion prevailed in the time of the Emperors. Julius Cæsar,* who, according to Suetonius, was somewhat particular in matters of dress, is said to have worn such a tunic, girt about him loosely, and with sleeves fringed and bordered at the wrists, "ad manus fimbriatæ."



The short sleeves, as ordinarily worn, did not extend much below the arm-pit; they just covered the shoulders, leaving the arms bare, as seen by the woodcut, copied from one of the figures on Trajan's Column.

Illustrations of the tunic appear upon two of the statues which were found at Bedford Purlieus, in Northamptonshire, and preserved in the valuable collection of His Grace the Duke of Bedford at Woburn.† Both figures have whips in their hands, emblematical, it may be presumed, of the occupation of the individuals they represent. They wear nothing but the tunic, which is girt beneath the breast similar to that described by Quintilian: ‡ "Cui lati clavi jus non erit, ita cingatur, ut tunicæ prioribus oris infra genua paullum, posterioribus ad medios poplites usque perveniat."

Though partially concealed by the folds of the tunic, the waistband, girdle, or *cinctorium*, is evidently present. The richness of its character is also indicated by the *phaleræ* or *bullæ* which ornament that portion which is visible. The crescent, which as a pendant or drop terminates the strap or girdle, is frequently found on Roman monuments associated with metal buttons or bosses, and is a further illustration of the rank and station of the individual represented. The belt, as worn, provided means for attaching the sword to the side by means of a loop affixed to the sheath. It differs from the baldric or *balteus*, which was passed across one shoulder and beneath the other; this was fastened by means of a buckle, which at times was enriched with studs or *bullæ* of gold or precious stones.

"lato quam circumplectitur auro
Balteus, et tereti subnectit fibula gemina." §

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* Suetonius, in Vit. Jul. Cæs. 45.

† See Communication by the late Rev. C. H. Hartshorne, M.A. Archæologia, vol. xxxii.

‡ Quintilian, Instit. Orator. l. xi. 3.

§ Virgil, Æneid, lib. v. 312.

The *balteus*, often significant of inferior rank, occurs sometimes on sculptures where the inscriptions define the position and rank of the deceased, for example, on the figure of the centurion at Colchester, of which we have presently to speak. Here the sword is slung from such a belt, and hangs upon the left side. At the same time a smaller weapon is worn on the right thigh; this is suspended from the waist. The *cinctorium* is usually found represented on statues of superior officers, with the sword on the left side. Polybius,* speaking of the ordinary soldier, remarks that the sword, which he calls the Spanish sword, should be carried on the right side. It is formed, he says, not only for pushing with the point, but to make a falling stroke with either edge, and with singular effect, for the blade is remarkably strong and firm. The sword, as represented on the statue, is a good example of the *gladius*, or two-edged weapon. This was usually about twenty inches long; the swords worn by the cavalry were longer than those carried by the foot-soldiers. In our illustration the sheath or scabbard is well defined; indeed the same care and attention has been devoted by the sculptor to this as to other details of his work. Such were often made from thin wood, covered with a plating of bronze or silver, and at times were richly ornamented. One of the most beautiful examples of such work found in Britain is the legionary sword discovered some years since in the Thames, near Kew Bridge, and now in the possession of Thomas Layton, Esq. F.S.A. Upon this, associated with ornamental scrolls of foliage in a tasteful pattern, appears an illustration of Romulus and Remus suckled by the wolf. In Mr. Roach Smith's Collectanea Antiqua a fine specimen has been figured. It was discovered near Mayence during excavations for the railway terminus at Cassel. It was of steel, and so oxidized that it could not be withdrawn from the sheath. This was twenty-four inches long, and at the widest part three inches and a quarter in width. It was made of wood plated with silver, the plating being almost perfect. It was bound round by two bands, to which were affixed rings for suspension to the belt. Upon the label, or upper portion of the sheath, was a group of figures, among whom appears a figure of Tiberius. Before the emperor is a youthful figure presenting an image of Victory. This, it is presumed, refers to Germanicus, whose military successes in Germany are so vividly recorded by Tacitus.† In the case before us no figure or ornament appears upon the scabbard; the label near the hilt is perfectly plain, and the handle of the sword is of a design which is well known. The circumstance of such a weapon hanging from the right side is, as beforementioned, hardly consistent with the apparent rank of the officer. Whether

* Polybius, lib. vi.

† Collectanea Antiqua, vol. iv. p. 200.

another sword was suspended from the left, as with the Colchester centurion, it is impossible to say.* If its presence were necessary to define the rank and position of its owner, it would nevertheless be hidden from view by that portion of the cloak which covers the left side of the figure. Josephus, writing on the Roman military costume, with which he was familiar, observes that the infantry wore two swords, a long one in the right hand, and in the left a dagger a span long. Such dimensions, however, as the latter in no way apply to the weapon referred to, either in the statue from the City or that worn upon the right side by the Colchester centurion.

In representations of emperors or princes it is not unusual to find illustrations of both baldric and girdle, such as are worn by the centurion, richly ornamented with jewels and precious stones.† Such appear on the statue of Constantine at the Capitol at Rome, and may also be seen on the portrait of Honorius which appears on an ivory dyptich discovered at Aosta in the year 1833. Their use continued into the Middle Ages, and may be observed on many of our effigies and monumental brasses. Examples of such ornamented straps, which after girding the waist descend as that on our figure to the knees, appear on the monuments to Richard Willoughby, Chief Justice, 1329, in Willoughby church; Sir Simon de Felbrigge, Felbrigge church, Suffolk; Roger Atteleath, St. Margaret's church, Lynn, 1376, &c. The manufacture of belts and girdles made from leather, and decorated with studs and buckles, was an important one in England during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.

In the left hand there appears a novel object. This is of exceptional interest, because it is due to the preservation in which it fortunately appears that I am enabled to offer any description of its meaning. When first discovered there was reason for the belief that this was no other than one of the small bags or coffers which are sometimes seen on Roman monuments, but when properly cleansed identification became easy, and in place of box or basket we could see that the sculptor had truthfully rendered a series of tablets such as were used by the ancients for writing purposes. In a clear light, the divisions between the *tabellæ* or leaves may be clearly seen. So fine, however, are the lines of separation, that, had time dealt less kindly with the monument, their characteristic features would have been destroyed, and we should certainly have been led to an erroneous conclusion. The tablets appear suspended by cords, fastened possibly to a strap,

* See post.

† In the Museum of Antiquities at Mayence is preserved a portion of a "courroie" or strap ornamented with buttons, as before described. "Bulla" is sometimes used in such a sense, viz. as "boutons," like heads of nails. Vide Lindenschmit, Alterthümer unserer heidnischen Vorzeit, 11, 10, 4.

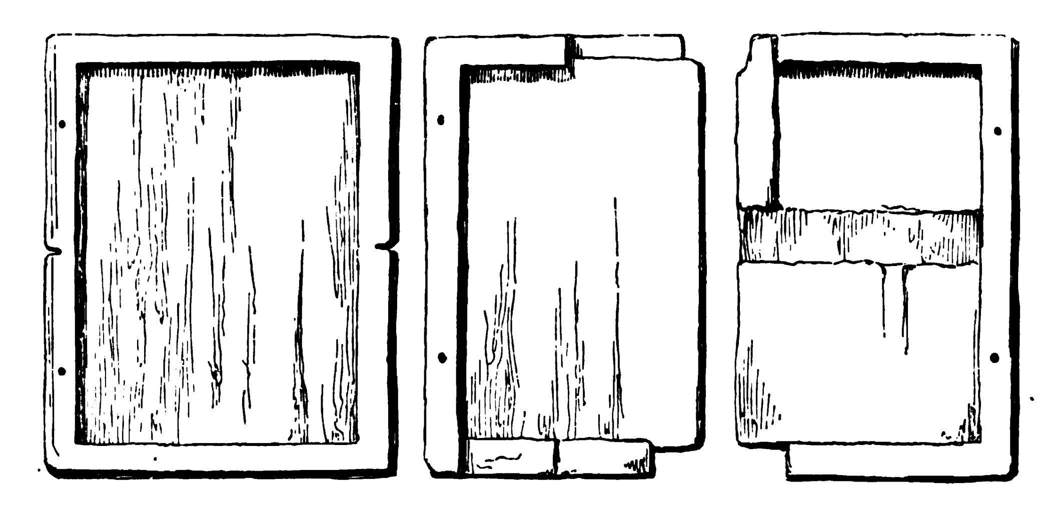
for it does not appear that the loops which may be seen above them are held by the fingers; on the contrary, the object which is visible between fore-finger and thumb has some resemblance to a band or strap, and indicates the method by which the tablets were attached. The latter are frequently spoken of as *ceræ* by the classic writers, from the circumstance that the mode of writing in their day was by a pointed instrument, or *stylus,* on a thin coating of wax laid on slabs or leaves of wood having a raised edge or margin, or sometimes a button or *umbilicus* in the centre, to prevent rubbing or friction between the leaves. A set of tablets would vary in number; there were the *ceræ duplices,* the *ceræ triplices,* and the *ceræ quintuplices,* where there were three central leaves in addition to the outside covers. Thus Martial—

> Tunc triplices nostros non vilia dona putabis,
> Cum se venturam scribet amica tibi.

And again,

> Cœde iuvencorum domini calet area felix,
> Quinquiplici cera, cum datur altus honos.*

At times the outer leaves or covers would be adorned with ivory carvings, jewels, or precious metals. Examples of *diptycha,* which in Imperial days newly-



appointed prætors and consuls were accustomed to exchange as presents, have been preserved.† From their perishable nature, few *tabellæ* have been found in London. Some specimens were exhumed from the large gravel-pit when

* Epigram, lib. xiv.—iv.-vi.

† Life of the Greeks and Romans, by E. Guhl and W. Köner. Translation of, by T. Hueffer, p. 530.

excavating in the year 1841 for the foundations of the new Royal Exchange. Some of these were found at a depth of thirty feet, and are now preserved in the British Museum and also at Guildhall. They retain the creases made by the strings used in binding them together. They have been figured by Mr. Roach Smith in his Illustrations of Roman London, and to him I am indebted for the loan of the illustration.*

Examples have been found at Pompeii: and at Herculaneum a wall-painting was discovered upon which was a representation of a lady with the *stylus* in one hand and the *tabellæ* in the other. In the museum at Sens, in France, some sculptures are preserved which were found under similar conditions to those from Camomile Street. They had been built up into the town-wall, and thus saved from destruction. Among them are many figures which serve to illustrate our City relics. Some have recently been published in "The Transactions of the Société Archéologique of Sens";† they comprise broken statues, portions of tombs, cornices, pilasters, altars, and other objects, many being of the highest interest for the illustrations they afford in connection with social and domestic life. Upon two at least among the sepulchral monuments appear examples of the *tabellæ*. On one, a cippus, appear the figures of husband and wife with hands clasped; in the left hand the man holds a strap, to which three tablets are attached, the *ceræ triplices*.‡ Upon a second cippus, representing a "*niche, à cintre surbaissé*," there are figures of three persons. One of them is holding by the left hand a set of tablets suspended by a triple cord.§ Many other

* Illustrations of Roman London, by Charles Roach Smith, p. 188.

† Musée Gallo-Romain de Sens, deuxième partie, p. xxix. 1869-70.

‡ Cippe funéraire de deux époux se donnant la main: on lit, sur la corniche, un reste d'inscription,

D. M. SVLAE. . . . MATER.

G nomme porte, par dessus ses deux tuniques, un manteau attaché sur l'épaule droite par une broche ou un bouton allongé, *sagum fibulatorium*. Les manches de sa tunique extérieure sont longues et collantes; elles descendent jusqu'au poignet, *tunica manicata*. De sa main gauche il soutient, à l'aide d'une courroie, des tablettes triples, *ceræ triplices*.

§ Cippe présentant une niche à cintre surbaissé, dans laquelle sont les statues de trois personnages. Celui de milieu est vêtu d'une tunique longue et d'un manteau à capuchon, *lacerna*, fendu par devant, et dont les deux pans sont rattachés par une patte à la hauteur du genou. pl. xxi. no. 1. Une autre patte rattache les bords de la manche gauche. Il tient dans sa main gauche un verre à boire. pl. xiv. no. 3, la statue de Regiola. Ses pieds sont chaussés de bottines dont les tiges sont ornés d'un bourrelet. A la jambe gauche, le bourrelet est inachevé et ferait penser à un pantalon, *braccæ*. Le personnage de gauche est vêtu d'une tunique descendant au-dessous du genou et pourvue de manches longues et larges. Il porte des bottines sans bourrelet. Celui de droit, vêtu d'une tunique plus longue, également à manches longues et larges, s'appuie sur un bâton, *baculus*, et porte dans sa main gauche des tablettes suspendues par un *triple cordon*.

examples may be quoted. "The use of the style and wooden tablets was continued through the Middle Ages down to a comparatively recent time, as may be exemplified by the versification of an anonymous writer of the fourteenth century:"

> Les uns se prennent à escrire
> De Greffes en tables de cire;
> Les autres suivent le coustume
> De fourmer lettres à la plume.

Their appearance on ancient monuments, as symbolical of the occupation or profession of the deceased, reminds us of those curious sepulchral effigies of the medieval notary or lawyer. There are examples of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, both in stone and brass, where the figures are seen with a girdle, from which are suspended both inkhorn and penners. In the presence of these tablets we may possibly learn something of the rank and profession of the individual represented. Their appearance on the monuments to civilians at Sens show that they have not necessarily a military significance. On the other hand we have the soldier's dress, a proof that the memorial is one of a military man. The selection, therefore, of this object must have been intentional, and for the purpose of placing upon record some important circumstance connected with the duties and career of the defunct. What this was can only be ascertained by reference to the writers of antiquity, and by comparing the monument with others of similar character. Explanation would have been less difficult had more certainty existed as to the object held by the right hand; the figure is clearly in a leaning posture, resting, as it were, on either spear or standard, but which it is impossible to say, and in the absence of any inscription no proof can be adduced. Such memorials, unfortunately, are of the greatest rarity in this country, but they are more plentiful on the Continent. In Italy, however, there is seldom anything of the kind discovered. In Rome itself, amid all the treasures of art, we find no similar monument. The statues there, numerous and magnificent as they are, both at the Vatican and the Capitoline Museum, are all too good; they belong to the highest form of classic art, and for the most part represent divinities, heroes of mythology, emperors or princes. They illustrate the perfection to which the art of sculpture had arrived; they tell of wealth and luxury, and of that taste for the beautiful which once guided the masters of the world, but they provide few illustrations of provincial work, of that intermingling of style which was the natural result of association between the conqueror and the conquered. In Rome there is probably no better judge of

antique sculpture than our countryman, Robert Tighe, Esq.; but he, when I submitted to his inspection a photograph of the City figure, at once remarked upon its interesting features, but informed me that I should find no similar examples in the galleries of Rome; for illustrations, search must be instituted among the museums of its ancient provinces. Figures of Gauls or Britons, Dacians, Parthians, and other nationalities, may be sometimes seen; as "barbarians" they appear in military processions, where in the position of captives they commemorate the triumph of the Roman arms. In these, distinctions of costume are portrayed with that fidelity which only serves to heighten the contrast between them and those more properly belonging to the classic garb of Greece and Rome.*

This scarcity is not surprising when we consider that such monuments are usually of a sepulchral character, and commemorate men who have served their country in some distant province of the empire. An individual might have held an important position abroad, and be thought worthy of a monument in the district where he had lived and died, and yet his existence be soon forgotten in Rome. Such memorials of the Roman legions provide the richest materials for study; from them we identify the various nations of the world, who helped to swell the army required for the conquest of Britain. The auxiliaries, too, formed an important section in the military system; they accompanied the legions; they fought with weapons to which they were accustomed, and might adopt the costume peculiar to their race. Among other ways of insuring allegiance, recruits, when required, were drawn from their respective countries, and thus sympathy for home and kindred became encouraged. Inscriptions often show how the sculptured tomb was erected by surviving heirs, or as a last tribute of affection by sorrowing relatives. We find the gravestones of the soldiery scattered throughout the world. To the more important of those discovered in this country I have presently to refer. Our illustrations, however, are few compared with the discoveries abroad. The Austrian provinces are probably the richest. In a letter from Professor E. Hübner, of Berlin, this eminent scholar remarks upon the poverty of Italy with respect to this class of monument. He tells me of treasures in France, Spain, and Portugal, and of discoveries made in the Oriental and Danubian provinces; but more especially refers to examples preserved in the museums of Mayence, Bonn, Wiesbaden, &c. &c. many of which

* See the Triumphal Arches of Septimus Severus, Titus and Constantine, and the various statues of "barbarians" preserved in the museum of the Capitol.

have been figured by Dr. Lindenschmit in his "Alterthümer unserer heidnischen Vorzeit," a work of the highest interest and value.

In a paper recently published, Dr. Hübner has described a monument discovered near Athens. It is a tombstone of a Roman soldier, and a member of the Prætorian fleet. For the ports of Italy Augustus appointed two permanent fleets, one at Ravenna, the other at Misenum near Naples. The soldiers were known as *classiarii,* military bodies trained for service either by sea or by land, and answering to the description of our modern marines. As soldiers or sailors they were qualified to act when occasion required. The memorial referred to, represents a soldier fully equipped for service; he wears the *sagum,* and, beneath, the ordinary shirt or tunic, girt with a plain *cingulum* or girdle. This has fringed ends, but no other form of ornament, and is simply tied around the waist; to it is fastened as usual the short legionary sword; this is on the right side. His right arm is raised, and by the hand he grasps a spear, not the heavy *pilum,* but a similar though lighter form of weapon. No dagger appears upon the left side, as with some of the Roman troops; the legs are bare, excepting below the knees, where a form of stocking has been indicated by the sculptor, and shoes laced up in front. In the left hand we see a set of tablets, in place of the shield which is so often present. This has somewhat puzzled our Continental friends, and Dr. Hübner suggests the possibility of their being intended to illustrate the certificate of citizenship with which it was customary to reward the soldier at the conclusion of his term of service, viz. the *tabulæ honestæ missionis.* This distinction of the *civitas* and *connubium,* or the enjoyment of civil rights and legitimate marriage, was in early times the usual reward of long and distinguished service. Under the emperors these grants were registered at Rome, and copies inscribed on *tabulæ* of metal were dispatched to the province in which the new citizens resided. Such plates have been found in Britain. They are usually of two sheets of bronze or copper, which, united by thongs, would fold together like a book. No less than three examples of these valuable "rescripts" are preserved in our national collection. They are known respectively as the Malpas Diploma, found at Malpas in Cheshire in the year 1812; the Sydenham Diploma, found in the year 1806 at Sydenham Common, in the county of Kent; and the Riveling Diploma, discovered in 1761 in ground known as the Lawns, in Riveling, near Stannington, Yorkshire. The two first are of the time of Trajan, and the third of Hadrian's reign. A portion of another was discovered at Walcot near Bath in the year 1815, and more recently two at the station of Cilurnum on the Wall. They were found by John Clayton, Esq. of Chesters, and are both of the reign of Antoninus

Pius, A.D. 146. They are all of the highest interest, from the information contained relative to the troops who served in Britain.* The earliest, answering to the year A.D. 104, is addressed by Trajan to the veterans who had served for twenty-five years or more, and who were at the time in Britain under Julius Neratius Marcellus. There is therefore nothing improbable in the notion that a soldier discharged from service might be hereafter represented as bearing in his hand the certificate of freedom; but in the monument at Athens it is questionable whether the tablets held may be so considered. The inscription, moreover, contains internal evidence of the status of the individual in this respect; it reads, *Dis Manibus, Q. Statius Rufinus, miles classis prætoriæ Misenensis* Ɔ (*centuria*) *Claudi Ingenui, annorum* xxxviii. *militavit annos* xviii.

We have here the *tria nomina*, a circumstance important in itself, and in Dr. Hübner's engraving the figure is represented as fully equipped for service; † his term, moreover, is seen to have been but eighteen years, too short a period for the usual *missio* or discharge, although in his case it was nearly half his life, he having entered the army at the age of twenty. His three names show that he was already in possession of civil rights, and the presence therefore of the tablets would seem to indicate some official duty performed during his association with the fleet at Misenum.‡ It may have been his duty to keep certain records or accounts belonging to his particular troop, and, if we may suppose the regulations which governed the Roman marines to be the same as those enforced among the soldiers upon land, information may be derived by a reference to what Vegetius has written on such matters. Mr. Coote reminds me of a passage which goes far to explain not only the presence of such *tabellæ* but of another familiar object with which they may be often confused, viz. the small box, cist, coffer, or basket, which is so frequently seen on ancient sculptures. It was a practice in the Roman army to keep a record of the accounts of the moiety

* Facsimiles of portions of these *tabulæ* have been published by the Rev. J. Collingwood Bruce, M.A. in his Lapidarium Septentrionale.

† Grabstein eines Römischen Flottensoldaten aus Athen Archæologische Zeitung, 1868, by Dr. E. Hübner.

‡ Signor Rudolpho Lanciani of Rome has recently recorded some interesting discoveries of tombstones from the Necropolis between the Minerva Medica and the Porta Maggiore. Among the sepulchres he mentions a marble cippus of Ti. Julius Xanthus, freedman to Nero, who died at the advanced age of ninety, being SVB PRAEF*ectus* CLASSIS ALEXANDRIAE. Julius Xanthus, therefore, was a vice-admiral, and had been raised from his humble condition of a freedman to the honours of a flag-ship. Of this Signor Lanciani quotes other instances, and mentions that, under Claudius, Nero, and Otho, three freedmen had been rewarded with the supreme management of the great fleet at Misenum. See also Ferrero Armate, p. 32.

of the donatives of each cohort, as deposited by military law, "*apud signa*"; each man's half of his donatives being saved up for him, to be redelivered when he left the army honourably. The accounts of each cohort, as regarded such donatives, were kept by the "signifer," and this account-keeping, inasmuch as it required education and character, redounded much to the credit of the grade of "signifer." Vegetius, after referring to the keeping of such donatives, writes, "Decem folles, hoc est decem sacci, per cohortes singulas ponebantur, in quibus hæc ratio condebatur." There was an eleventh depository or sack, into which the whole legion put its contribution for burial, so that if any comrade was missing the expenses might be forthcoming from this eleventh purse for his interment. These latter accounts were also kept by the "signifer," "Hæc ratio apud signiferos, ut nunc dicunt in cophino servabatur." The concluding passage, referring to the eleven *sacci* and *cophinus* altogether, finishes with these words: "Et ideo signiferi non solum fideles sed etiam litterati homines eligebantur, qui et servare deposita et scirent singulis reddere rationem."* From this we gather that it was one of the duties of his office for the "signifer" to keep receptacles in which to preserve these records. It is therefore more than possible that on a monument to so important an official we should find a symbol emblematical of the trust. κόφινος, a Greek word, is usually understood to refer to a hamper or basket of wicker-work, such as might be employed in gardening or agriculture. In such a sense it is used by Columella, Juvenal, and other writers.† The Jews were known by their *cophinus*, as barbarian kings were known by their diadems. "Pharao incedat cum diademate, Israelita cum cophino." It is also the basket mentioned in the New Testament in connection with the feeding of the five thousand. It is, however, equally applicable to our position whether the tablets symbolise the records themselves, or the coffer, the *cophinus*, or the receptacle in which they were kept; the tablets would represent the banking accounts of the troop, to be kept, as we have seen, with scrupulous care. Whatever might be the privations to be endured by the Roman soldier, a rigorous discipline provided for his pay, and his savings were faithfully returned at the close of his term of service. Taxation produced the means, as it has done in later days, for the long continuance of war. It is therefore probable that some such office as I have indicated was held by Q. Statius Rufinus of the marines.

Of "signifers" or "standard-bearers" there are some interesting monuments preserved in the museums of the Continent. They may be at once identified

† Vegetius, Epitoma Rei Militaris, Teubner edit. p. 53, et seq.

‡ Juvenal, 3, 14 Commentaries. J. E. B. Mayor, M.A. 1872.

by the presence of the *signum.* Of this there were various forms, and their distinctions conferred on the ensigns who carried them a specific title in accordance with the object borne. Such, however, were all grouped under the general term *signa militaria.* A standard was attached to each cohort or troop, while the *aquila* or eagle formed the ensign for the entire legion. The "aquilifer," or bearer of the eagle, was the principal among such officers, but the number of "signiferi" varied in accordance with the number of cohorts of which the legion was composed.

Among the Roman sculptures in the museum at Mayence is the gravestone of an "aquilifer"; the figure, like that from Camomile Street, is in a canopied niche, supported on each side by late Corinthian columns. He appears in full military dress; as defensive armour he wears the *lorica* or corslet, with flexible bands of metal as a protection for the shoulders; he is also richly decorated with *torques, phaleræ, armillæ,* &c. About the waist is girt a belt, fastened by a buckle; from this there hang straps apparently of leather, which forcibly reminds us of that held by our City figure. The right hand grasps the eagle; the ensign of his legion and the left repose on a shield. Beneath is the following inscription :—

CN*eus* · MVSIVS · T*iti* · F*ilius* · GAL*eria* · VELEIAS ·
AN*norum* XXXII · STIP*endiorum* · XV. AQVILIF*er*
LEG*ionis* XIIII · GEM*inae* M*arcus* MVSIVS · Ↄ*enturio*
FRATER · POSVIT.

From which we gather that Cn. Musius of Valeia was a soldier of the fourteenth legion, that he died at the early age of thirty-two, and had served for fifteen years.

There is also a memorial to a "signifer" of the same legion; he is fully armed. Beside the standard in the right hand we note the shield carried by the left, and the nature of the weapons, which are attached to a richly ornamented belt. There is the ordinary Roman sword, bearing a strong resemblance to the City specimen; this, too, is on the right side; upon the left there hangs the short *pugio* or dagger. The inscription reads :—

Q*uintus* · LVCCIVS · Q*uinti* F*ilius* · POLLIA · FAVSTVS
POLE · NTIA · MIL*es* · LEG*ionis* XIIII · GEM*inæ* · MAR*tiæ*
VIC*tricis* · AN*norum* XXXV. · STIP*endiorum* XVII · H*ic* S*itus*
E*st* HEREDES · F*aciundum* · C*uraverunt.*

The monument was erected by the heirs of Q. Luccius Faustus, a soldier of the fourteenth legion, and belonging to the Pollian tribe of Pollentia. He lived to

the age of thirty-five, and had served in the army for seventeen years. This was the legion which, after serving in the earlier British campaigns, bore the brunt of the battle with Boadicea. Paulinus Suetonius, the Roman general, gave its soldiers on that occasion the title of *domitores Britanniæ,* A.D. 61. In A.D. 68 it was recalled by Nero, but in the following year was again sent to Britain by Vitellius, and finally left the island in A.D. 70 by order of Vespasian.* But few traces of its presence have as yet been discovered. A monument to one of its soldiers was found at Lincoln, and a tombstone to a "signifer" at Wroxeter, with the following inscription :—

M*arcus* PETRONIVS · L*ucii* F*ilius* MEN*enia* · VIC*sit* ANN*os* XXXVIII ·
MIL*es* LEG*ionis* XIIII GEM*inæ* MILITAVIT ANN*is* XVIII SIGN*ifer* · FVIT
H*ic* S*itus* E*st.*

Marcus Petronius, son of Lucius, of the Menenian tribe, lived thirty-eight years, a soldier of the fourteenth legion, called Gemina; he served as a soldier eighteen years, and was a standard-bearer; he lies here.†

This inscription is believed to be the first record of the presence of the fourteenth legion in Britain. It is said to have absorbed the remnants of the ninth legion, which suffered so terribly in the contest with the British queen, and to have thus acquired the title of Gemina. According to Dio, when any part of a legion was added to another after having been reduced by sickness or ill success in war, that legion which received such accession was styled Gemina.‡

There is also in the museum at Mayence another gravestone of a "signifer," which has been figured by Dr. L. Lindenschmit.§ Here again the general treatment forcibly reminds us of our City figure. The soldier is standing in a similar recess, and the ornamentation of the canopy above strongly resembles that which appears on some of the sculptured stones from the Bastion, and which doubtless formed part of the monument to which the statue belonged. He holds the *signum* of a cohort by his right hand. It is rich in character, and resembles the highly decorated standards to be seen on Trajan's Column. On the right side, attached to the belt, is a small weapon, apparently a dagger, the larger sword

* Roman Forces in Britain, by W. Thompson Watkin, Esq., in the Proceedings of Evening Meetings of the London and Middlesex Archæological Society.

† Uriconium, by Thomas Wright, F.S.A. p. 357.

‡ See Roman Remains of Uriconium, by T. Farmer, F.S.A. section 11. Primeval Antiquities, British Archæological Association Journal, Gloucester Congress, 1846.

§ See his "Die Alterthümer unserer heidnischen Vorzeit," 1858.

being placed at the other side, with the handle grasped by the left hand; from the belt or waistband appear ornamented straps, such as we have before referred to, terminating in drops or half-moon pendants. The inscription reads:—

PINTAIVS PEDILICI
F · ASTVR TRANS
MONTANVS · CASTELLO
INTERCATIA · SIGNIFER
CHO · V ASTVRVM
ANNO · XXX · STIP. VIII
H · EX · T · F· C·

Pintaius, Pedilici filius, Astur transmontanus, castello Intercatia, signifer cohortis quintæ Asturum, annorum triginta, stipendiorum octo, heres ex testamento faciundum curavit.

Pintaius belonged to the fifth cohort of Asturians, and held the post of "signifer" to his troop. Of his short life of thirty years eight were passed in service. Contrary to usage he is represented with a covering to the head; he wears a close-fitting cap, and over this the wolf's or bear's skin, such as appear on statues of the Galatian warriors of the same race, and which are to be found, says Dr. Hübner, in the North of Spain. Vegetius speaks of those who bore the standards as wearing the smaller breastplates and helmets, covered, to the enemy's terror, with bearskins:—"Omnes autem signarii vel signiferi quam vis pedites loricas minores accipiebant et galeas ad terrorem hostium ursinis pellibus tectas."* Examples of similar costumes may be seen on Trajan's Column.

The Asturians appear among the auxiliary forces at one time stationed in Britain. They were garrisoned at Condercum (Benwell), at Cilurnum (Wallwick Chesters), on the Northumbrian wall, and, according to the Notitia, a cohort was stationed at Aesica (Great Chesters) in the same locality. There are also reasons for believing that a company of Asturians was at one time stationed at Colchester, an inscription having been found on the site of the ancient Nomentum in Italy, which commemorates an individual who held the office of *censitor* (or censor) of the citizens of Camulodunum.†

Dr. Lindenschmit further figures the monument to Publius Flavoleius

* Vegetius, lib. 11, 16, 17.

† Celt, Roman, and Saxon, by T. Wright, Esq. F.S.A. p. 361. Die Alterthümer unserer heidnischen Vorzeit, by L. Lindenschmit, 1858.

Cordus, a soldier of the fourteenth legion, who is represented as wearing both the *tunica* and *sagum*, and fully armed; he bears the *parma*, or circular shield, used by the cavalry or light-armed troops, in the right hand a spear, and by the side the legionary sword, while at the left appears the dagger hanging from the girdle. In the left hand, however, there appears an object which, though indistinct, has a strong resemblance to two rolls of writing, such as, our author remarks, have been before observed on gravestones of Roman soldiers, but the object of which finds no explanation from the association with military weapons and other articles of a soldier's dress. It is probable that what appears as two rolls of writing may in reality be but one, a continuous sheet, naturally curling up at each end, and so represented by the artist. This may be compared with a mutilated piece of sculpture discovered in our own country, viz. at Bath, and preserved among the many interesting objects to be seen in the museum of that city. The memorial is to a "signifer;" he wears both the tunic and military cloak; the right hand grasps the staff of the standard, and in the left is an uncertain object, but which bears a strong resemblance to the scroll held by the soldier in the museum at Mayence. This interesting relic has been figured by the Rev. H. M. Scarth, M.A., in his "Aquæ Solis,"* and in a recent letter from him upon the subject he remarks that such rolls, when seen in the hands of Roman statues, are usually smaller than the object referred to, and that it is quite possible that a set of tablets is really the symbol held by the Bath "signifer." In either case the presence of such objects is explained by the quotations already given from Vegetius, and this opinion is further strengthened by a reference to another memorial discovered in this country of like character. In all the monuments to which I have referred not only is the standard represented but the accompanying inscriptions leave no doubt as to the official position of the deceased. All are "signifers," and all grasp by the right hand the symbol of their office. The annexed lithograph represents the statue of a "signifer," as preserved among the collections of the Yorkshire Philosophical Society at York, and he, it will be seen, though holding the standard, is equipped with neither shield nor weapon, but bears in the left hand an object which implies the execution of a civil office. This figure was discovered in the year 1686 near to Micklegate, in York, whence it was removed to Ribston, and found its way to the museum some forty years ago. It has never been accurately engraved, although an illustration of it appears in that useful little volume "Eburacum," by the Rev. Charles

* Aquæ Solis, by the Rev. H. M. Scarth, M.A. 1864, p. 82.

Wellbeloved, accompanied by a brief description of the monument. Through the kindness of the Rev. J. Raine, M.A., I obtained a photograph, which, aided by a careful sketch taken from the original by Mr. J. P. Emslie, enables me now to give an authentic representation of the stone. From the fact of its having been exposed to the weather for nearly a hundred years after its existence was made known it is now much decayed, and so worn in places that many important details have been destroyed. Enough, however, remains to enable us to illustrate the observations made as to some of the duties appertaining to the post of "signifer." In height this monument is nearly six feet by about two in width. The figure, which, like the other referred to, stands in an arched recess, is considerably less than life size, measuring but three feet six inches high. Beneath it appears in well-cut letters the following inscription:—

L · DVCCIVS
L · VOLTRVFI
NVS · VIEN
SIGNIF · LEG VIIII
AN · XXIIX
H · S · E

This is rendered as—

Lucius Duccius Lucii Voltinia (*Tribu*) *filius Rufinus Viennensis Signifer Legionis Nonæ Annorum viginti octo hic situs est, i. e.* Lucius Duccius Rufinus, son of Lucius, of the Voltinian tribe of Vienna (in Gaul), standard-bearer of the ninth legion, aged 28, is buried here.

Though only twenty-eight at the time of his death, Duccius had enjoyed the important position of "signifer" to the ninth legion,* whose headquarters were at York. He wears the *penula*, but the decayed condition of the stone prevents us from identifying the folds or ascertaining if it at all resembles that worn by the City figure. It is evidently a close-fitting garment, but we cannot discover

* This legion was nearly annihilated in the outbreak under Boadicea, but what remained of it was engaged in the subsequent battle with her. It was engaged also and again severely handled in the great battle of the Grampians, when Julius Agricola defeated the Caledonian chief Galgacus. Its subsequent headquarters were at York, where traces of its presence in the form of inscriptions abound. It was engaged in building the Roman castrum at Aldborough (Isurium), as the tiles bearing its stamp testify. One of its tiles has also been found near Woodcroft (Northants.), and tombstones of two of its members have been found at Lincoln. A tablet erected by it in the reign of Trajan found at York is the latest that is known concerning it, but it is supposed from its severe losses to have dwindled away and ultimately to have been incorporated with the sixth legion. See Roman Forces in Britain, by W. Thompson Watkin, Esq. Proceedings, Evening Meetings, London and Middlesex Archæological Society, 1873.

Plate V



J.P.Emslie, del.

J.F. & W.R. Emslie, lith. London

ROMAN SCULPTURE; MEMORIAL TO A "SIGNIFER" OF THE NINTH LEGION

now in the Museum of the Literary and Philosophical Society, York.

whether there was any fastening in front or if it opened only from the waist downwards. When worn by the soldiery such a division could not well be dispensed with on account of the difficulty there would be in marching and in getting at the weapons suspended from the waist. That the *penula* could be worn on service is shown by an anecdote recorded by Seneca of a soldier who once reminded Augustus that during the campaigns in Spain, when the Emperor had sprained his foot, he had his *penula* spread beneath him.*

In the left hand we note the doubtful object; this is so worn and abraded in the original that all distinctive features have been destroyed. It has been amusingly conjectured by Horsley † that it represents the vessel for holding or measuring the corn which was part of a Roman soldier's pay; such an explanation is purely imaginary, but it has unfortunately been adopted by Mr. Wellbeloved and other writers. We have seen that, if box or coffer, such would represent the receptacle for preserving the records which it was the duty of the "signifer" to keep, but if a set of tablets, the object would indicate the records themselves.

I have already alluded to the monument to a Roman centurion found some years since at Colchester.‡ This however calls for further notice, because not only is it one of the finest examples of its class, but it affords further illustration of the practice of the Romans, that, where inscriptions might be defaced or absent, identification would be preserved by the representation of symbols such as would indicate the rank or occupation of the deceased. This interesting relic is carefully preserved by Mr. George Joslin in his valuable museum at Colchester, and he has kindly permitted our artist to prepare the annexed lithograph from photographs and sketches taken from the original. The figure is in high relief and well preserved, from the circumstance that when found the face was downwards, so that the features and other details had been saved from injury. It is about 3 ft. 7 in. high, and stands beneath a canopy in a recess or niche. The height of

* Seneca, de Benef. 5, 24, 1, meministi, inquit, imperator in Hispania talum extorsisse circa Sucronem? cum Cæsar meminisse se dixisset, meministi quidem, inquit, sub quadam arbore . . . cum velles residere . . . et esset asperrimus locus . . . . quendam ex commilitonibus pænulam suam substravisse? Weniger bestimmt ist ein anderes Zeugniss ebenfalls bei Seneca de Benef. 3, 28, 5, wo von servi pænulati in militum . . . . cultum die Rede ist. Einige andere, die aber sämmtlich in sehr späte Zeit gehören, giebt Lebeau, a. O.S. 521 ff. See Paper by Dr. Hübner, "Relief eines Römischen Kriegers im Museum zu Berlin," in "Sechsundzwanzigstes Programm zum Winckelmannsfest der Archäologischen Gesellschaft zu Berlin," 1866.

† Britannia Romana.

‡ Page 39.

the entire monument, including base, is 6 feet, and the width about 2 ft. 4 in. The general treatment of the ornament which surrounds the figure is similar to that which occurs on the majority of the sculptures taken from the Bastion, but is far superior in execution. The inscription, in bold letters beautifully cut, reads,

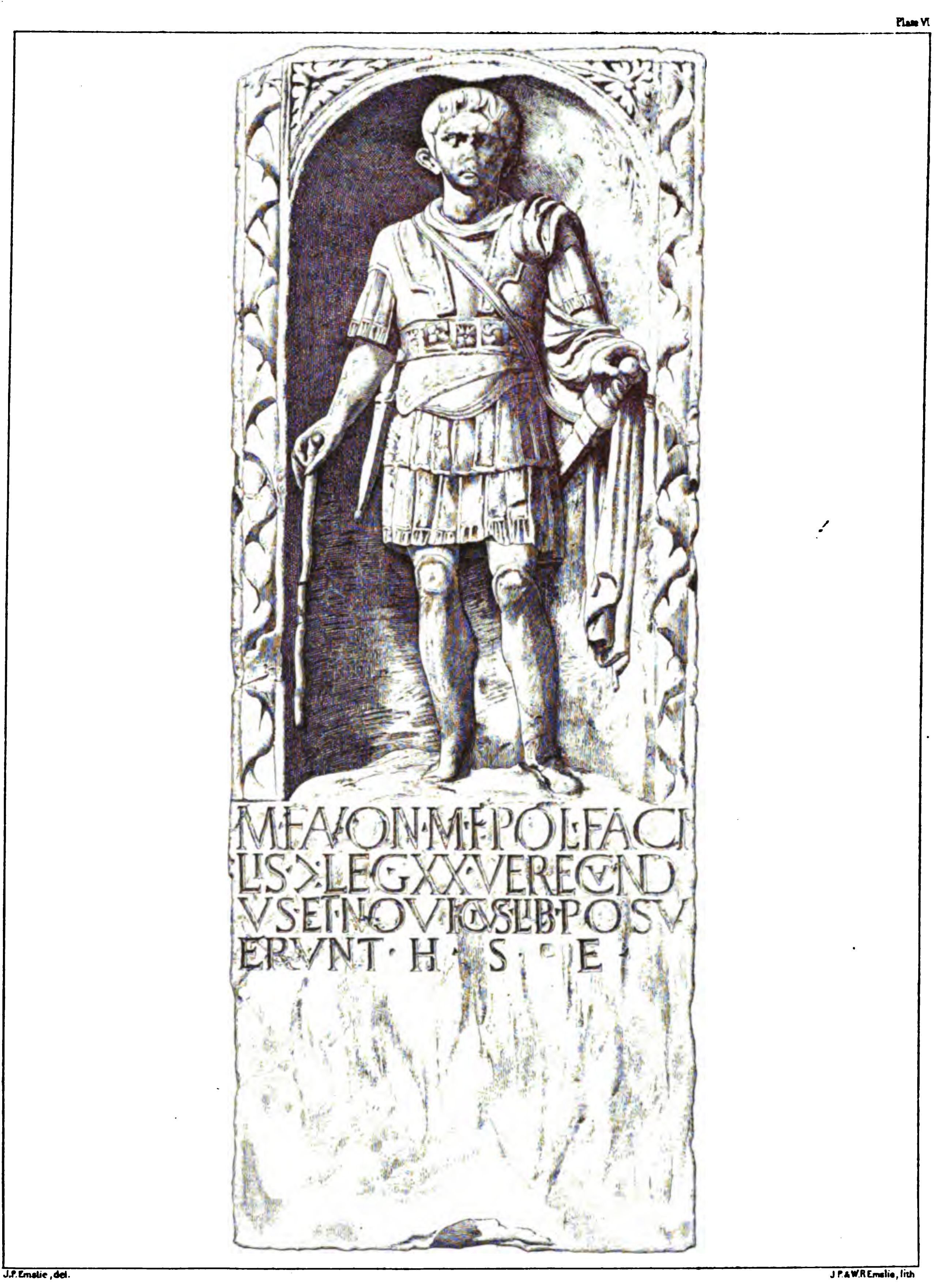
M · FAVON · M · F POL · FACI
LIS · ⊳ · LEG · XX · VERECVND
VS · ET · NOVICIVS · LIB · POSV
ERVNT · H · S · E

Marcus Favonius, son of Marcus, was, like Q. Luccius Faustus of Mayence, of the Pollian tribe. He served in the twentieth legion, a body closely identified with the fortunes of Roman Britain. Its honourable title, *Valeria Victrix*, and its familiar symbol of the boar, are both well known. It was engaged in the construction of both the Northumbrian and Scotch walls. Sometime quartered at Deva (Chester), it remained until its final withdrawal from Britain. It is not mentioned in the *Notitia Imperii*, compiled at the close of the fourth or quite early in the fifth century, so had doubtless been previously recalled. Its first transfer to Britain occurred at the time of the German war against Arminius, probably arriving here with the first expedition of Claudius, A.D. 43, and inscriptions show that it was still present in the country at the death of Allectus, A.D. 297. At some period between this reign and the compilation of the Notitia it was removed elsewhere, otherwise we might expect to find it mentioned together with the second and sixth legions, both remaining in Britain. In the battle with Boadicea, the *vexillarii* only were engaged; the legion itself must however have been close at hand, for, when the engagement subsequently took place which sealed her fate, we are told that it was present and of its valiant conduct in action. Tacitus records how Posthumius, *præfectus castrorum* of the second legion, having failed to join with the troops under his command, killed himself from disappointment when he received news of the victory.*

In addition to those on the two walls this legion has left records of its presence at Erldon, Middleby, High Rochester, Netherby, Ellenborough, Moresby, Lanchester, Natland, Crawdundale, Manchester, Whittlebury (Northants), Wroxeter, Bath, London, and at Colchester. Its connection with the latter place finds

* Et Pœnius Posthumus, præfectus castrorum secundæ legionis, cognitis quartadecumanorum vicesimanorumque prosperis rebus, quia pari gloria legionem suam fraudaverat abnueratque contra ritum militiæ jussa ducis, se ipse gladio transegit.—Annals, xiv. 37.

Plate VI



J.P. Emslie, del.

J.P. & W.R. Emslie, lith.

ROMAN SCULPTURE; MEMORIAL TO A CENTURION OF THE TWENTIETH LEGION

Found at Colchester, now in the Museum of G. Joslin, Esq.

illustration in the burial of Favonius, one of its superior officers. His rank is not only attested by the magnificence of his uniform but by the fact of his having freedmen in his service, two of whom, Verecundus and Novicius, erected the monument to his memory. That he was popular is probable from the sobriquet which he appears to have merited, viz. *facilis*, easy, good-natured, or courteous. His age does not appear, nor the years of his military service, but his position as one of the centurions of the legion is indicated by the symbol for the word *Centuria* > which appears in the second line, a symbol frequently noticed in funereal inscriptions, and representing the letter C as derived from the early alphabets of Greece. In his right hand we note another emblem of the office the centurion was called upon to fill. It is the vine-twig or sapling usually placed in the hand as an indication of authority. It was the duty of such an officer to inflict summary punishment on refractory soldiers, to summons therewith lagging deserters to the standards, and in the exercise of chastisement for faults it was considered rather an honour than otherwise, and a privilege accorded only to soldiers who were citizens to be beaten with a vine-sapling.* The office of "centurion" required qualifications of importance; like the "signifer" he was to be of a respectable position. Vegetius tells us that he should be selected on account of both strength and stature, that he should be able to hurl javelins or missiles, actively and fearlessly to fight with a sword, and skilfully to turn his shield, to be acquainted with the science of arms, watchful, sober, active, and ready rather to obey commands than to speak, to keep his comrades to discipline, and urge them to rightfully exercise their weapons, to be well clad and shod, to brighten up and polish the arms of all, &c. &c.† As an officer he was of lower rank than the tribunes by whom he was appointed. His post when on the field was immediately in front of the eagle.‡ This is illustrated by a bas-relief of the time of Trajan but now inserted in the Arch of Constantine at Rome. The centurion is represented as holding the *vitis* or vine-twig, and standing by the side of the "aquilifer," the bearer of the eagle.

From these examples, which might readily be multiplied, we note the prac-

* Pliny, H. N. book xiv. ch. 3.

† Præterea sicut centurio eligendus est magnis viribus, procera statura, qui hastas vel missibilia perite jaculetur et fortiter, qui dimicare gladio et scutum rotare doctissime noverit, qui omnem artem didicerit armaturæ, vigilans, sobrius, agilis, magis ad facienda quæ ei imperantur quam ad loquendum paratus, contubernales suos ad disciplinam retineat, ad armorum exercitium cogat, ut bene vestiti, et calciati sint, ut arma omnium defricentur ac splendeant, &c.—Vegetius, lib. ii. 14.

‡ Lib. ii. cap. 8.

tice of representing on memorials to the dead such symbols as would indicate the office, profession, or occupation in which the individual had been engaged. It was the sphere and cylinder on the tomb of Archimedes which directed Cicero to the resting-place of that mathematician; the bag sculptured on stone, together with the inscription VIATOR AD ÆRARIVM, tells of a serjeant to the Exchequer.* The sculptor Amabilis appears with hammer and chisel, the fuller is seen at his work,† the smith at the anvil with hammer and tongs,† the carpenter with hatchet and measure,‡ the vendor of wine and grain occupied with his customers.§ On the sepulchre of Adeodatus are figured the implements of a woolcomber.* On that of Atimetus, a *pullarius* or poulterer, is exhibited a cage of chickens.* On that of Epaphras the cutler, preserved in the Vatican, appears a shop-front with various forms of knives exposed for sale. The tomb of Eurysaces the baker, by the Porta Maggiore at Rome, with its curious rilievi, is also a striking illustration.

A like sentiment is expressed in emblems connected with the domestic life of the ancients. Upon a sepulchral slab discovered at South Shields in the autumn of last year is the figure of a lady seated in a wicker chair engaged in embroidery or weaving; upon one side is a chest or box, and on the other a basket, both of which appear to contain working material. Birds and animals, once favourites in life, are of frequent occurrence on such memorials, and in the case of children their toys are not forgotten. Among the discoveries still progressing in Rome is a touching illustration of this description. Signor Lanciani records the finding of the cinerarium of a boy, one Hyllus, page to Tiberius. His little bones had been inclosed with a terra-cotta chicken, painted in bright colours, and a fragment of a doll resembling our pulcinellas, with clay bust and arms, and legs of wood. The wood had naturally perished.

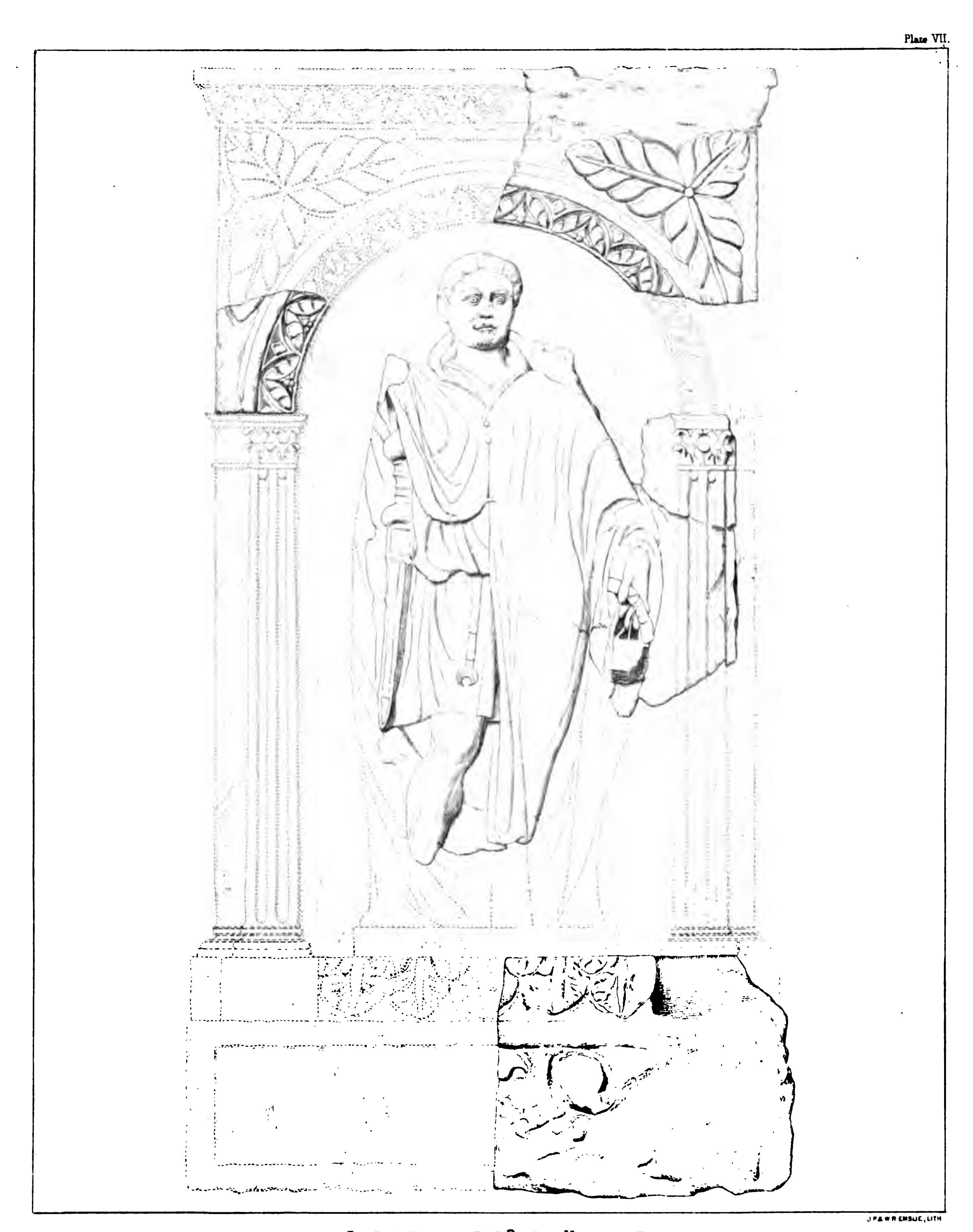
The set of tablets, therefore, which appear in the left-hand of our "signifer" has been so placed with a like intention. In the examples selected, inscriptions preclude the possibility of error, but if proof be needed it might be found in the presence of the emblems selected by the sculptor. About the "centurion" at Colchester, or the "signifer" at York, there can be no question; these, when compared with the foreign examples, lead to a conviction that the city figure belongs

* In the Galleria Lapidaria in the Vatican.

† Museum at Sens.

‡ Museum at Bordeaux.

§ Bas-relief in the Hotel de Ville at Dijon, engraved by Mr. Roach Smith, Collectanea Antiqua, vol. vi. p. 25.



J. P. & W. R. EMSLIE, LITH.

RESTORATION OF THE ROMAN MONUMENT
FOUND IN A BASTION OF LONDON WALL, CAMOMILE STREET, BISHOPSGATE.

The portions shaded are preserved in the Museum at Guidhall

to the same order. The connection which exists between the tablets and the military dress I have endeavoured to illustrate and explain, and the evidence goes to show that the official position which the artist intended to commemorate was similar in character to that once enjoyed by Duccius at York.

Plate VII. represents an attempted restoration of the monument. This is in no way offered as correct, but for the purpose of inviting criticism, and at the same time affording an illustration of the important character of the memorial when complete. The composition of this sketch is due to my friend Mr. Alfred White, F.S.A. who, after repeated examinations of the sculptures found in the Bastion, agreed with me in the conclusion that many of them had originally belonged to one and the same structure. In the few that are here selected we have pieces which, from their character and size, may well have formed part of the canopied niche which inclosed the statue. There are naturally many missing; at the same time, were it possible to remove and attempt to fit in their original position many of the immense masses of stone now preserved at Guildhall, other restorations might be attempted. It is likewise possible that, had we been able to secure the whole of the stones which made up the foundations of the Bastion, many connecting links might have been preserved; but such a course was impracticable; we could only save those which showed traces of the sculptor's art, the others had to be broken up and buried at the time. The pieces, however, selected by Mr. White, and arranged as shown in the illustration, produce a design which will bear comparison not only with the two memorials at York and Colchester but also with those to which I have referred as existing in the museum at Mayence. An important difficulty is, however, suggested in the circumstance, that, if our restoration be correct, the monument would be constructed of two descriptions of stone, the figures carved from oolite, while the canopy and base would be of firestone; the latter would naturally be useless to a sculptor, but at the same time it could well be employed for the less important surroundings of the central figure. Such an association of materials is not uncommon; it may be observed in some of those gigantic sepulchres which line the Appian Way at Rome, where there are examples of tombs constructed mainly from blocks of tufa, but faced with stone and brick. The accompanying diagram is drawn to scale, and, as the proportions appear to harmonise throughout, the association which exists between the fragments would seem to be more than a coincidence.

In leaving the consideration of this unique and interesting monument I would observe that as yet it stands alone among London discoveries. There is

but one other such memorial existing as found within civic limits, and this is so inferior as a work of art that comparison is barely possible. I allude to the mutilated monument discovered near to the foundations of St. Martin's church, Ludgate, by Sir Christopher Wren, in the year 1669, and now preserved among the Arundel Marbles at Oxford. The annexed woodcut is from a drawing made by my father from the original in the year 1845. Various engravings of the relic have appeared, and none more fanciful or unlike than those published by Gale, Camden, and Horsley. That given by the latter was repeated in Knight's "London," and exhibits the figure with a noble peruke, after the fashion of that worn by the distinguished architect by whom the monument was discovered. The inscription reads—



D.M.
VIVIO MARCI
ANO · M · LEG · II
AVG JANVARIA
MARINA CONIVNX
PIENTISSIMA POSV
IT MEMORIAM.

Diis Manibus, Vivio Marciano Militi legionis secundæ Augustæ Januaria Marina Conjunx pientissima posuit memoriam.

This stone was set up by "Januaria Marina, the most dutiful wife of Vivius Marcianus, a soldier of the second legion called Augusta." As remarked by Mr. Roach Smith, the word *memoriam* is synonymous with *monumentum*, and *conjunx* for *conjux* is a form not unusual in lapidary inscriptions of a late date.* Beneath the inscription is the figure of Marcianus; over his under-garment he wears the *sagum* or *paludamentum*, the ordinary military cloak, the former differing mainly in quality and being that usually worn by the common soldiers, the latter that customarily adopted by generals and superior officers. It falls in folds over the left arm, and is fastened on the right shoulder by a fibula or brooch. The right hand holds what appears to be a sword, but it is of unusual length, and

* Illustrations of Roman London, page 22.

from the absence of details impossible to describe. A belt is seen around the waist, the strap of which is apparently held by the left hand. There is, however, nothing about the figure to indicate any position in the army other than that of the ordinary foot soldier. To the legion in which he served reference has been already made. Upon its arrival in Britain it was commanded by Vespasian. Its headquarters were at Caerleon, where it has left numerous inscriptions. It accompanied Hadrian to the North, and with the sixth and twentieth legions constructed the Northumbrian wall, and under Antoninus Pius the same legions erected the barrier between the rivers Forth and Clyde. It was longer in Britain than any of the other legions, and remained to the end of the Roman occupation, being quartered at the time of the compilation of the Notitia at Richborough in Kent. This rough piece of sculpture is, so far as I know, the only figure from the City which, as a soldier's tomb, bears any relation to the present discovery. The circumstances under which it was discovered are identical: it had been used as building material. It had belonged to a series of tombs and memorials which occupied a portion of the City in past times near to the highway which led from Londinium to the west of Britain. The Camomile Street statue, of finer and nobler proportions, was doubtless similarly placed near to the road which ran from Aldgate to the East.

From this locality Mr. Roach Smith many years ago received a small figure carved in coarse oolite. It was found in Bevis Marks and is now in the British Museum. It represents a youthful personage with long and curling hair, dressed in the Phrygian cap, and a pallium or cloak fastened by a fibula, or rather a button, upon the right shoulder, over a tunic and waistband. In the left hand is a bow.* The design of this figure is fairly good and the drapery graceful. It measures 26 inches in height, is of provincial workmanship, and though superior in its style of art to many other examples of its class is inferior in execution to the statue before us. The group of the Deæ Matres from Hart Street, Crutched Friars,† the torso of a statue in white marble of a male, discovered at a depth of 17 feet in Petticoat Lane in the year 1845, the head of a Roman statuette from the Thames,‡ the portion of a figure of Hercules from Ludgate, a head in freestone from Birchin

* Illustrations of Roman London, p. 47.

† For years in the City Stone Yard, Worship Street, now in the Guildhall Museum. See Paper by the late E. B. Price, F.S.A. Journal British Archæological Association, vol. i. p. 247.

‡ Formerly in the collection of G. R. Corner, Esq. F.S.A. Journal British Archæological Association, vol. xiii. p. 317, Paper by S. Cuming, Esq.

Lane,* the altar to Apollo from Foster Lane, the sarcophagi from Haydon Square † and Upper Clapton,‡ together with a few lapidary inscriptions, commemorative of legionary soldiers, a few pilasters and architectural fragments,§ make up the meagre contribution which as yet London can offer to the series of sculptures connected with the Roman occupation of Britain.

Second in interest only to the statue is the figure of a lion represented as having overpowered by its spring either another lion or an animal of inferior



strength. This also is of oolite, is in high relief, and remarkable for the skill which is apparent both in the design and execution of the work. As a group it has been boldly chiselled from a solid block of stone; it measures rather over 2 feet long, is 11½ inches wide, and 1 foot 10 inches high. Unfortunately it is imperfect, the head of the vanquished animal being entirely gone, while that of the conqueror is much worn and abraded by the effects of time and weather. Its position as a mass of building material may be seen in the section of the Bastion given in Plate III. It is there shown as resting among squared blocks of worked firestone, and carefully wedged and fitted into its position by masses of Kentish rag. Its situation was at no great distance from the statue of the "signifer,"

* Roach Smith Collection. See Journal British Archæological Association, vol. ii. p. 205.

† Archaeologia, vol. xxiv. p. 300. Journal British Archæological Association, vol. ix. p. 161.

‡ Transactions London and Middlesex Archæological Society, vol. iii. papers by B. Clarke, Esq. F.R.C.S., and John E. Price, F.S.A.

§ Collectanea Antiqua, by C. Roach Smith, F.S.A. vol. ii.

but though of the same description of stone as that figure it is impossible to say what connection, if any, there has been between the two, or if indeed they ever belonged to the same structure. The style of execution and the form given to the base show that the sculpture was intended to rest on something, and in a way that it could be seen on all sides, either on the cornice of a building or as the ornamental finish to a tomb. That it originally belonged to a sepulchre is evidenced by a comparison between it and similar relics which with scarcely an exception are known to have been associated with funereal monuments, added to the fact that the site of its discovery formed part of one of the extensive burial-grounds attached to the Roman city. As a piece of sculpture this object is a fine example of its class; it is novel, and quite unfamiliar to us in London, but in the North of England such figures are well known. In the Rev. J. C. Bruce's magnificent work, the "Lapidarium Septentrionale," some six or seven illustrations are included. In the museum at York two examples are preserved; they were found at Catterwick, but are imperfect. The lions may be observed as in full spring, but the animals which they had vanquished are gone. Of those figured by Dr. Bruce I am enabled, through the kindness of the Council of the Society of Antiquaries of Newcastle-upon-Tyne, to give illustrations. The woodcuts will show far more clearly than can any description the resemblance which exists between these objects so familiar in the North and our example from the Bastion. It may be noted that in the majority of instances, if not all, the conquering animal is a lion, while that which is attacked may be a horse, boar, a hind, a ram, and sometimes humanity is indicated as having thus succumbed to superior power.

In each case, however, if a symbol be intended, its meaning may be the same, the object probably being to illustrate the existence of a power to which all creation must give way. Such representations are presumed to refer to the worship of Mithras, an oriental cult which came into fashion in the declining days of Rome. This notion is strengthened by the Eastern character which prevails with some of the objects found. In the annexed illustration * a strong Egyptian feeling is apparent, and the original is of much the same dimensions as our London find. It was discovered together with the smaller figure at Kirkby Thore, a station in the North of England, where numerous inscriptions, altars, and Roman relics, have been found.

* Lapidarium Septentrionale, p. 391.

In the larger figure the animal conquered is evidently a ram. So also in a group, discovered by Mr. Robert Ferguson, of Carlisle, some twenty years since,





1 ft. 4 in. by 8 inches.



2 ft. 2½ in. by 1 ft. 7 in.

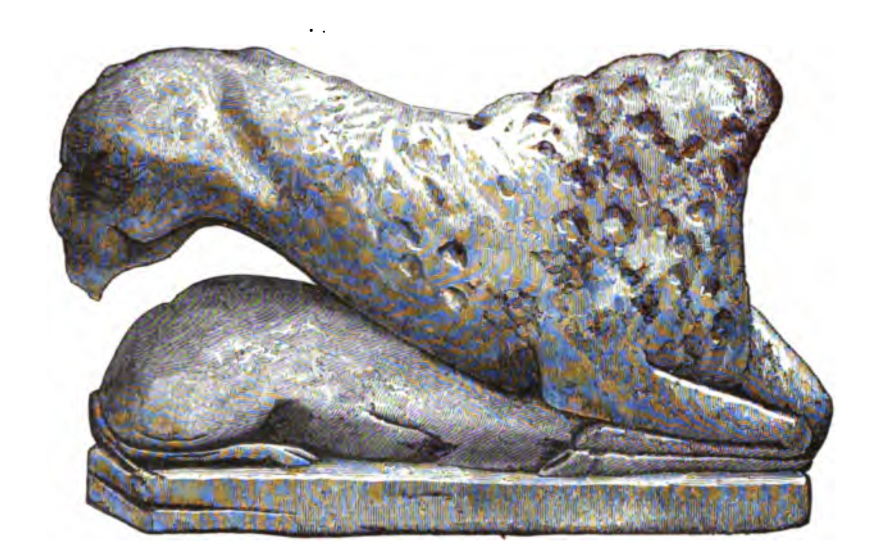
while excavating one of the extramural cemeteries near to the Roman Way by old Carlisle and Penrith. It was associated with an urn of earthenware, a glass



vessel containing bones, a lamp, and some minor objects. The figure stands upright on its base, and measures about 16 inches in length.

A much larger example is that found at HUNNUM, Halton Chesters, and now

preserved at Matfen Hall. It measures no less than 4 feet long by 2 ft. 3 in. wide. The squared base indicates the position it was intended to occupy, and the proportions show that it must have surmounted a monument of large dimensions. The inferior animal is so completely crushed by the lion above that its head and neck are lost to sight; the bent position assumed by the front legs of the former also helps to illustrate the force by which the latter is pressed in its position.



Figures of lions tearing or crushing human heads are likewise seen, and usually in the form shown by the next illustration. This represents a stone discovered upwards of two centuries ago at Stanwix, the site of a Roman station near to the city of Carlisle. It is now preserved at Drawdikes, and has been figured by Dr. Bruce.

The head above the inscription is supposed, writes Dr. Bruce, to represent the deceased. Its peculiar aspect, and the lions at the upper angles of the stone, slightly countenance the thought that Trojanus may have been one of the detachment of Moors which, according to the *Notitia*, was in garrison at ABALLABA, the fourteenth station on the Wall.*

* Lapidarium Septentrionale, p. 241.



Size 3 ft. 2 in. by 3 ft. 1 in.

DIS MANIB
S · MARCI(I) TROIANI
AVGVSTINI FI (?) TVM FA
CIENDVM CVRAVI
T · AEL AMILLVSIMA
CONIVX KARISS

Diis Manibus
Marcii Trojani
Augustini filii tumulum

Diis Manibus Marcii Trojani Augustini filii tumulum faciendum curavit Ælia Ammillusima conjux carissima.


14 inches by 10 inches.

The annexed mutilated fragment* still more forcibly illustrates our subject. It shows the claws of the lion clutching at the hair of its victim. It was found at CONDERCUM, Benwell, a station occupied by the Asturians, and was associated with another curious piece of sculpture representing a human head with rays of light proceeding from it. The symbol has led to the suggestion that the figure intended is that of Mithras himself.

Since the discovery of the foregoing, an interesting slab has been found in the vicinity of Carlisle, the particulars of which have been kindly communicated to me by Mr. R. S. Ferguson, F.S.A., of that city. It is a sepulchral monument, and lay buried at the bottom of a large hole some four feet deep, near to the roadway from Carlisle to Dalston. It measures 4 ft. 4 in. high by 2 ft. 11 in. in breadth, and represents a woman and child in a canopied recess. The former appears seated in a chair and holding in her right hand what is evidently a fan; in her lap is seen a bird, which is pecking at the fingers of the little one who is standing by her side. The left hand is shown as quietly resting on the left shoulder of the child. Upon either side of the recess is a Corinthian pilaster, such as seen on the city relic, and above the whole, in striking contrast to the peaceful nature of the subject, are the figures of two lions, each fiercely tearing at a human head. Between the former is a figure apparently of a man holding some object by both hands. He is represented with wings; but owing to the head having been broken away, and this portion of the tomb being in other respects worn and damaged, any conjecture must be hazardous. As connected with our subject, interest centres in the lions, and these, especially in one instance, are tolerably well preserved. They are vigorously cut; rough, but forcible in treatment. The cruel and savage manner in which they have seized upon their prey, and fastened their fangs in the heads before them, is remarkably well done. The fact of their presence on the monument has originated the notion that this memorial was raised to the wife and child of some worshipper of Mithras. The idea is strengthened by the wings which are attached to the figure placed between the lions, such also being attributes belonging to the Persian god.

Our space is too limited for any lengthened description of this oriental sect, with all its initiatory rites and ceremonies; yet, so unique among London discoveries is the piece of sculpture before us, that it may be interesting to consider why such figures, forming part, as they usually do, of a sepulchral monument, are

* Lapidarium Septentrionale, p. 40.

invariably associated with the worship of Mithras, the Sun-god of Persia, the mediator between man and the powers of Good and Evil.

The true origin of a cult, described by the Rev. John Hodgson as little better than a "jargon of witchcraft and astrology," is to be sought for in Persian literature. It belonged to the order of heathen mysteries which professed to reveal to those initiated the secrets of Providence and the hidden processes of nature. According to Plutarch,* Mithraicism was unknown in Europe until the time of the piratic war, some seventy years before the birth of Christ. Its introduction to the West is thought to have occurred at Ostia, where so many memorials in connection with it have from time to time been found. From Ostia it naturally came to Rome, and its propagation throughout the provinces of the empire can be readily understood. As a form of superstitious worship it spread rapidly under Domitian, A.D. 81, and Trajan, A.D. 98; was opposed by Hadrian, A.D. 117, but patronised by Commodus, A.D. 180, and increased in popularity to the middle of the fourth century. In the reigns, however, of Valentinian, A.D. 364, and Gratian, A.D. 375, it was suppressed at Rome, and, with the advancement of Christianity, gradually died out. Its survival may be traced in what is known as the Gnostic heresy, for though originally distinct it became absorbed among the numerous sects who, while adopting Christianity, continued to associate therewith many of the doctrines and superstitions imported from the East. In process of time Mithras became identified with Abraxas, the god of the Gnostics.

The worship of Mithras was usually conducted in a cave or small building protected from the light. Such temples have been found in various parts of Italy. In our own country a Mithraic cave was discovered at BORCOVICUS, Housesteads, the eighth station on the Wall. In it was found a tablet with a figure of the god surrounded by the signs of the zodiac, sundry altars, and fragments of what is termed a Taurine tablet, from the subject representing the slaughter by Mithras of the bull. The portions found have been illustrated by Dr. Bruce and are here repeated. They comprise two Phrygian figures, standing with torches across their breasts, part of the head and one foot of the recumbent bull, the right hand of Mithras grasping the knife, and a dog. They are fragments of such a slab as the perfect example also given in Plate VIII. copied from one of the works of Dupuis.

At York a sculptured tablet representing the sacrifice and mysteries of Mithras was discovered as long since as the year 1747 in digging for a cellar in a house at Micklegate, opposite St. Martin's church. It is now preserved in the museum. In addition, altars dedicated to Mithras have been found at

* Life of Pompeius Magnus.



FROM THE "LAPIDARIUM SEPTENTRIONALE,"
By the Rev. J. C. Bruce, M.A.

VINDOBALA, Rutchester, a station on the Wall; the inscriptions noticed have been DEO · SOLI · INVICT or DEO INVICTO · In one case the word DEO stands alone; the dedication here however is explained by the sculpture at the base of the altar, which represents the sacrifice of the bull. DEO · SOLI · INVICTO · MITRÆ SÆCVLARI; DEO · SOLI · MITR are also among the forms which have appeared in Britain of dedications to the Persian god.

The sacrifice of the bull is the leading symbol in all relating to the myth, and it has been well described by Mr. Charles J. Hemans in his interesting work on "Historic and Monumental Rome."* "Mithras, a noble-looking youth in oriental costume, with tunic and Phrygian cap, stabs the bull with a golden dagger, that animal being emblematical of the earth, and this act of the god not an inflicting of death but bestowal of life—the quickening of the powers of Nature, as through the vivifying beams of the sun directed to her maternal bosom. It is the cosmogonic sacrifice offered annually by the Divine Mediator to the Eternal Ormuzd; and in such act the initiated saw still deeper meanings, the triumph of good over evil, of light and love over infernal darkness. The usual accompanying symbols are, a youth holding up a kindled torch, also a blossoming tree, emblematic of the spring; a man of mature age with a reversed torch, also a fruit-bearing tree for the autumn season; a serpent and a scorpion, introduced probably with an astronomic sense; a dog attacking the bull while it is being wounded, emblematic of the Good Genius, also of the star Sirius; an eagle and a hawk, birds dedicated to Ormuzd; a lion, implying an advanced stage of initiation; a cypress and a palm tree, sacred to Mithras. When, as sometimes seen in rilievi, a ray of light is darting to the head of Mithras, this signifies the perpetual and immediate intelligence between the supreme and the mediatorial deity."

This description may be compared with an account given by Montfaucon of an example discovered by Mr. Fagan at Ostia early in the present century, and in which we note the lion again referred to as an important emblem in connection with Mithraic rites. "The god is represented as the solar deity and keeper of the two portals, of which he holds the keys, called respectively those of heaven and earth, or of mortals and immortals. The lion is his symbol, because the sun attains its greatest altitude in Leo, and the serpent that entwines Mithras symbolises the tortuous and spiral path which the ancients assigned to the sun when above the ecliptic; and the serpent, from the peculiarity of its casting off its slough annually, is symbolic of the ever-renewed youth of the sun. The bowl between his feet represents the water which is necessary for the production of every species of living being, and the serpent putting his head into that vessel

* Page 641.

reaches the humid element. Thus is indicated that mixture of heat and moisture on which the growth of everything depends. The four wings of Mithras are also solar symbols, and in general signify the elevated regions which constitute his domain, while more particularly the two upper pinions refer to the ascending movement of the luminary when he culminates above one hemisphere, and the two lower ones point to the opposite declension."

Of Mithraic temples in Rome but one remains; this was discovered in connection with a Christian church in the course of excavations undertaken some years ago by Father Joseph Mullooly beneath the basilica of St. Clement, on the Cælian Hill. This worthy prior of the Dominicans has, in his interesting life of St. Clement, given a full description of the discovery. In a crypt beneath the basilica an altar to Mithras was found, and shortly after the Mithræum itself, a portion of the building which had been deliberately transformed into a cave for the celebration of the Mithraic rites. The vault discovered was pierced by eleven *luminaria* or skylights, some round, some square, and all decorated with mosaics; mosaic bands also ran along the sides and at the ends. The simplicity of the decorations, and the absence of Pagan forms, gave strength to the conviction that it was the first Christian oratory. Much of the ceiling, however, was made of small mineral stones, artificially imitating a grotto, and when the whole was cleared out, as we now see it, there remained no doubt that it was one of those caverns in which Mithras, whose altar had been already found, was habitually worshipped. Along the walls are raised platforms, ascended by three steps, which are believed to represent *triclinia*, on which the guests reclined while participating in some sacred feast held in the cave. Along the outward extremities of these benches there is a depressed edge, on which are five semicircular niches, two on the right hand and three on the left. They were formerly covered with marble, fragments of which still remain. These niches probably contained the figures or statues called *Signa Sacrorum*, symbolizing the five grades of initiation in the Mithraic mysteries. High up in the wall, at the end of this temple, is a niche, which must formerly have contained a statue of Mithras, and lower down is a small square cavity built of brick. This may have contained water for religious purification, or perhaps served as a receptacle for the blood of victims. Near it, on the floor, were remains of an altar, and a few inches in front a small round piece of marble, upon which, it is supposed, burned the sacred fire that was kindled and preserved in the two small furnaces facing each other in the sides of the benches. The learned Cavaliere Visconti thinks that the round piece of marble served as a pedestal for the conical-shaped stone that was found here representing the birth of Mithras. The deity is seen issuing from the top of the stone, which is a well-known symbol of Mithras;

for, as Lajard and others write, owing to the comparison between him and his symbol, fire, it was said that he had been generated from a stone, from the fact that a spark is produced by striking two flint-stones together, which was the way fire was first discovered. Mithras, therefore, was called θεὸς ἐκ πέτρας, and hence the stone itself was called his mother. This statue is 25 inches high; the deity from the knees upwards has emerged from the stone, and stands erect wearing the Phrygian cap. The arms from the elbow are wanting. It was broken into three pieces, which were found at various periods during the progress of the excavations, and is the only one of the kind in Italy.

In the centre of the Mithræum an altar was discovered. The upper part of it, on which probably were represented the chariots of the rising and setting sun and the symbols of the seven constellations, is quite gone. It is of Parian marble, and in its mutilated state is 4 feet high, 2 ft. 5 in. across the front and back, and 20 inches along the side. On the front of it is the background of a grotto, in the centre of which is the *taurobolium,** or sacrifice of the bull. Mithras is clad in a short tunic, with his chlamys or cloak fluttering over his left shoulder. He wears the Phrygian cap, and is looking earnestly towards the heavens. He has his left knee on the bull stretched on the ground before him, and while he holds him by the nostrils with his left hand he plunges a dagger into his shoulder with his right. A dog and a serpent lick the blood that flows trickling from the wound, and a scorpion or cancer gnaws the scrotum. The tail of the bull ends with ears of corn. Two genii clothed like Mithras stand as his assistants, one with his torch erect to indicate the rising sun, and the other with his torch depressed to indicate his setting. On the edges of the upper part of the grotto, to the right and left, are fragmentary figures of the sun and moon, and within it is a raven. Low down on the right of the spectator is the head of a lion, which, so far as I know, has not been as yet found on any other monument representing the *taurobolium.* Among Mithraic talismans, an early design is the Lion—the sun's house astrologically speaking—surrounded with stars, *holding in his jaws a bull's head* or trampling on the serpent, here the emblem not of wisdom but of the evil principle.†

Speaking of the animals associated with Mithraic worship, Father Mullooly

* The Rev. John McCaul, LL.D. in his "Christian Epitaphs of the First Six Centuries," remarks that the oldest example of the *taurobolium* with which he is acquainted is of the year A.D. 133. *Vide* Mommsen, Inscript. Neapol. n. 2063; Fleetwood, p. 11; Fabretti, p. 665, &c. There is, however, record of the existence at Rome of a monument in connection with Mithraic worship, dated A.D. 101, viz. in the Third Consulate of Trajan. A cavern of Mithras and his initiatory symbols were destroyed by Gracchus the Prefect in the reign of Theodosius I. A.D. 378.

† King's Gnostics and their Remains, p. 57.

remarks that "the priests who were initiated in the mysteries assumed various names or titles taken from the animals, which in their solar system of worship had a symbolical signification. Thus, in the writings of the ancients,* they were called *coraces*, ravens; *hierocoraces*, sacred ravens; *leones*, or *leontini*, lions; Persia, Heliaca, and the priestesses *leœnæ*, lionesses; for Mithras has his priestesses too, as appears from a passage in the second book of Justin, where it is said that Artaxerxes consecrated Aspasia to the worship of that god. All these priests wore the figures of the animals whose names they bore. The *leontini* alone, as Porphyrius seems to insinuate, had a right to assume the figures of any animal they pleased. Hence the mysteries were called Coracia, Hiercoracia, Leontica, Griphia, Persia, Heliaca." †

The Romans associated Mithras with the sun, as we have already seen by inscriptions quoted; their acquaintance with the mythology of the East was but limited. In the third century they substituted the worship of the sun for that of all the gods; of this there is numismatic evidence. On coins of this time are exhibited upon one side the figure of the sun, and upon the other the epigraph *Sol Dominus Imperii Romani*. This is an illustration of the development of the Mithraic superstition at this period, but it was from the end of the third century to the middle of the fourth that it obtained its greatest number of adherents. During that period Christianity was embraced by persons of all ranks, and threatened the overthrow of Polytheism. The religion of the empire was in danger, and the Pagans and Neoplatonists, in order to resist the faith of Christ, especially employed the mysterious rites of Mithras, and endeavoured to demonstrate that the worship of the sun had been the primitive and true religion of mankind. Mithraicism was better suited to obtain that end than any of the other religions then practised in Rome; for, in addition to its teaching the existence of a god acting as a mediator and atoning for the sins of men, it imitated some of the sacred rites of the Christian religion, especially the sacraments of baptism and the eucharist. They sprinkled the initiated with water and

* Porphyrius de Abstinentia, c. 16, 18; St. Jeronymus, Ep. ad Lætam, c. 51.

† "Saint Clement, Pope and Martyr, and his Basilica in Rome," by Joseph Mullooly, O.P. 1873. Since the above was in type the lamentable intelligence has reached us of the death of this learned antiquary. His discovery, first, of the subterranean basilica of St. Clement, and subsequently of the Mithræum, to both of which I have referred, will be ever appreciated by antiquaries of all nations; and those who have had the opportunity of receiving a welcome from him in the Eternal City will not only remember his courtesy and attention but the readiness with which he imparted the learning he had acquired. In a short obituary notice, by Mr. Coote, just published in Notes and Queries, 6th series, No. 27, it is well remarked that he possessed a "charm of converse, where the warm heart of his native land showed itself through the delicate polish of his adopted country."

presented them with bread and wine, in order, as they said, to regenerate them, and give them a new life. "Per lavacrum, si adhuc memini," says Tertullian, "Mithra signat illic in frontibus milites suos, celebrat panis oblationem, et imaginem resurrectionis induit et sub gladio redimit coronam." *

The presence, therefore, of lions on sepulchral monuments, especially when associated with other emblems, may well suggest a Mithraic origin; at the same time the figure of a lion might appear upon a tomb where no such significance was intended. In examples undoubtedly of Mithraic import few illustrations appear of that animal displaying the ferocity of its nature by crushing or devouring one of inferior strength, whereas in all those from the North of England, together with that now found in the Bastion, such is the leading feature of the design.

The Mithraicists, like the Christians, looked for eternal life, and, if there be any association between these figures and the worship of the Sun god, the object would seem to be an illustration only of submission to a superior power—the triumph of one principle over another—the passing from death to life; or may we see in such curious groups merely hidden types of forms of sacrifice familiar to those initiated in the mysteries of the cult?

Though of pagan origin, they are also met with on Christian monuments, and it is probable that they often have as much to do with the taste and fancy of the sculptor as with symbols at once so mystical and obscure. In the porches of some of the old Lombardic churches there are figures of lions represented either as devouring other animals or holding heads of men between their paws. Similar figures, too, occur on marble sarcophagi from the Catacombs, and usually in the form of terminal ornaments, the design being identical at each end. Examples are preserved in the Vatican, and also in the collections at the Louvre. A portion of such a monument may be seen any day in one of the streets of Rome by the ordinary traveller.† It is a piece of sculpture which has been used as building material, and is supported by a pillar which appears to be imbedded in the ground. The fragment is of white marble, and represents a lion having overcome a sheep or lamb. The lion is on the back of its victim, which is in a kneeling attitude and tightly held by the stronger animal. The latter has the jaws extended, the teeth are piercing the head of the victim, and the claws tearing at its flesh; they are buried in the soft wool beneath the mouth and by the side of the right shoulder. The figure is altogether about 2 feet high, has been broken

* Lib. de Baptismo, c. 5.

† In the wall of house No. 26, in the Vicolo de Soldati, near to the Via di Torri di Nona.

midway in the back of the lion, and has probably formed the corner to a sarcophagus of large dimensions.

Among the tombs on the Via Latina which have been described by Mr. Eastlake is one enriched at its angles with carved representations of a lion tearing a horse. In the centre of the longest side is carved a small barrel. It is possible that this was a Christian sepulchre—the barrel being one of the symbols used in the early Church. A similar emblem, and placed in a like position, appears upon a sarcophagus of white marble preserved among the treasures belonging to His Grace the Duke of Bedford at Woburn Abbey. This was taken from a sepulchre in the course of excavations near to the Via Appia. It is richly ornamented with vermicular flutings, in the centre of which design we note the barrel referred to. At each end is sculptured a lion destroying a boar. The cover of the tomb represents the ancient mode of tiling the roofs of buildings, and the manner in which the joinings of the tiles are cased over with *imbrices*, to prevent the admission of rain. Two females appear to have been successively deposited in the sarcophagus—Faustina and Eusebia. The first inscription is to the former:

FAVSTINA · DEPOSITA · XIII · KAL · SEP

The second, on a square tablet in front of the tomb, is—

EVSEBIE FILIAE
PARENTES
CONTRA VOTVM

recording the burial of Eusebia by her parents.

In the published account of the collections at Woburn Abbey there appears an engraving of this sarcophagus, accompanied by brief descriptive notes. "The group of the lion and boar is viewed as an expressive symbol of the power of death, or of the destroying attribute acting on the passive principle in organised matter, in order to its reproduction under another form." * Such an explanation is perhaps the most reasonable which has been advanced as to the object and intention of such figures. Such adaptations, to be seen on tombs and monuments of all ages, would also seem to indicate that they were sometimes merely of a conventional character, and possessed no hidden meaning or significance. It was no uncommon thing for subjects taken from mythology to be copied by the Christians, and as familiar symbols receive new interpretation from the fathers of the Church. Examples are not wanting in the catacombs of inscriptions commencing with the letters D · M · the familiar con-

* See Engravings and Descriptions of the Woburn Abbey Marbles, 1822.

traction for *Diis Manibus*,—to the Divine Manes or souls of the dead. Such an adoption of the pagan formula leads to the supposition that the ignorance of the sculptor led to its continuance: he could neither have understood its meaning or reflected on its unsuitableness to a Christian grave. As Christianity flourished, artists, while converts to the faith, might well continue to adopt designs and figures which for years had been familiar in their studios. The practice was one which called forth a remonstrance from Tertullian,* who complained that those most interested in the growth of the new religion should continue to perpetuate such heathen forms. For example, the sea-monster who swallowed Jonah is the same to which Andromeda was exposed. The barque which carried Danæ and Perseus to the island of Seriphus serves as an illustration for the Ark of Noah. Diana's stag became the Christian soul thirsting for the living waters. Juno's peacock, under the name of the phœnix, that soul after the Resurrection. The pagans identified upon their tombs the story of Ganymede and the eagle, the fable of Diana and Endymion, Laodamia and Protesilaus, Bacchus and Ariadne, the death of the Niobides, besides the hunting of the boar, figures of athletes, incidents from the Circensian games, together with groups associated with scenes in rural and domestic life. On sarcophagi of the fourth and fifth centuries the idea and intention are precisely the same as formerly, conventional designs are perpetuated, but associated with stories and traditions of a different order, selected by the artists to meet the growing tastes and requirements of the age. On tombs of this period † we find the story of Adam and Eve, the Sacrifice of Abraham, the Adoration of the Magi, the Resurrection of Lazarus, the Feeding of the Five Thousand, and other incidents taken from the Miracles—these all became standard subjects. The nimbus long used by the Pagans was adopted by the Christians. Representations of the Good Shepherd ‡ were derived from pagan emblems copied from figures of the deity Pan, anciently represented by sculptors with a goat thrown across his shoulders,

* De Idolatria, c. vi. vii. viii. Cf. Adversus Hermogenem, c. i. and the Note of M. Rigault, quoted by M. Edmond le Blant, Révue Archéologique, 1878, p. 143.

† Compare the sarcophagus of Junius Bassus, Prefect of Rome A.D. 359, now in the crypt of St. Peter's. The subjects represented are, in the upper part, The Sacrifice of Abraham, The Capture of St. Peter, Christ seated between Peter and Paul, The Capture of Christ, Pilate washing his Hands. In the lower part, Job on his Mat insulted by his Wife and Friends, Temptation of Adam and Eve, Entrance of Christ into Jerusalem, Daniel in the Lions' Den, Capture of St. Paul.

‡ See Didron, p. 365; Roma Sotteranea, p. 475; Paper by J. W. Grover, Esq. in the British Archæological Association Journal, vol. xxiii. p. 223; Maitland's Church of the Catacombs, p. 58; Hope's Essay on Architecture, &c.

and a Pan's pipe, or syrinx, in his hand. In the baptistery at Ravenna the Jordan is portrayed as a river-god, and the labours of Hercules are said to have been inscribed on the pontifical chair at Rome. Numerous other illustrations might be given, but those quoted are sufficient to show that in such a period of transition forms doomed to decay would for a long period keep up a struggling existence, and there need be little surprise at the meeting, as we so often do, with combinations, on the same monument, of both Pagan and Christian symbols.*

Upon the gravestone of a Roman soldier preserved in the museum at Mayence are three figures of lions. They, however, are not devouring or crushing other animals; one appears at each corner of the monument, and a third is in the centre; they are in a crouching attitude, and in readiness to spring; they appear as guardians of the sepulchre, and their position is typical both of watchfulness and power. With the ancient Greeks such lions were placed upon the sepulchres of heroes. "They occur," writes Mr. Newton,† "as a marked feature in the designs both of Hellenic and Etruscan tombs, being specially selected as emblems of valour and force, though the idea of guardianship was not lost sight of. At Palatia, the site of the ancient Miletus, were discovered numerous illustrations of lions in connection with tombs, some of them shown by architectural detail to be of the Roman period." On the tombstone at Mayence ‡ the ornament selected for the spandril at each corner is precisely similar to that on the memorial to the Colchester centurion, and, at the same time, forcibly reminds us of that which appears in our restoration of the City monument. On either side, also, is a representation in relief of a human figure bearing some resemblance to those attendants who usually, bearing torches, are in sculpture associated with the Mithraic sacrifice. In this case, however, they are precisely alike, are holding nothing in either hand, and would appear to have been selected merely as a

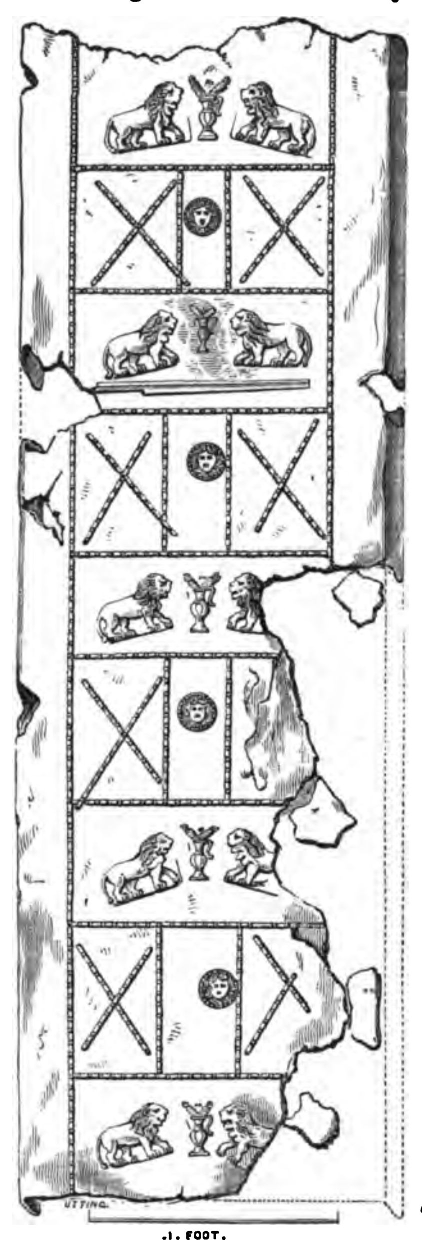
* In the tomb of the Naso family on the Via Flaminia, near Rome, may be seen, among many mythological paintings, the figure of a shepherd with a sheep on his shoulders and a crook in his hand surrounded by the Four Seasons. With a slight alteration the same composition was converted into a "Bonus Pastor" by Christian artists. The change however was slow, the Pan's pipe remained for some time in the hand of the chief shepherd, and the Roman dress was seldom abandoned. *Vide* Bellorio, Tomb of the Nasones, plate xxi. Of such objects selected by the artist to decorate the tomb of a Roman pagan of the first century many occur both in the Hebrew and Christian catacombs of a later period. This would seem, writes Mr. St. John Tyrwhitt, to show either that the distinction of religion was not then kept up after death, and that these paintings were considered as merely ornamental without attaching any particular meaning to them, or that idolaters were interred in the same burial-vaults or cemeteries with the Hebrews and Christians, if belonging to the same families. *Vide* "The Tombs in and near Rome," by J. H. Parker, C.B

† Halicarnassus, Cnidus, and Branchidæ, by C. T. Newton, M.A., and R. P. Pullen, F.R.I.B.A., 1863.

‡ See Dr. Lindenschmit before quoted.

conventional style of ornament. At the same time Dr. Lindenschmit, in quoting other examples on the Continent, views their presence as a further illustration of the popularity and universally diffused belief in the teachings of the Eastern myth.

"In 1836 a leaden coffin was discovered in the village of Milhaud, near Nismes, on the side of the road leading from Nismes to Montpellier. One of the sides of this coffin is ornamented with bas-reliefs representing two winged griffins walking from the right to the left, two lions moving in the same direction, and two pairs of naked genii, holding between them a vine-tree, which they seem to be planting in the ground, and of which the bunches of grapes hang over their heads. In the centre of the upper side of the coffin, where the skull of the defunct was found, is a lion in the same position as the preceding. The other sides are quite plain, and have never had bas-reliefs." Mr. Roach Smith, whom I am now quoting, also tells us of examples in the museum at Rouen of leaden coffins on which appear lions' faces inclosed in octagonal twisted borders.*



In the interesting collection of antiquities preserved by Mr. George Payne, F.S.A., at Sittingbourne, is a Roman leaden coffin discovered in November 1871 at Bexhill. When first found it was entire, but fell to pieces during the work of excavation. The lid, however, was left tolerably perfect. Its ornamentation is represented in the annexed engraving, for the loan of which I am indebted to the Council of the Kent Archæological Society, who have published an account of the discovery.† Its interest as regards our present inquiry consists in the

* Collectanea Antiqua, vol. iii. p. 57.

† Archæologia Cantiana, vol. ix. p. 164; also Collectanea Antiqua, vol. vii. p. 184.

figures of the lions (fig. 1), which are seen in rectangular compartments. They stand face to face, having between them a jug-like vase (fig. 2). Each central division contains a Medusa's head (fig. 3), while the two broader divisions are occupied by lines of the moulding disposed in shape of the letter X. In the compartment which lies third from the head of the lid there is beneath the lions



Fig. 1.



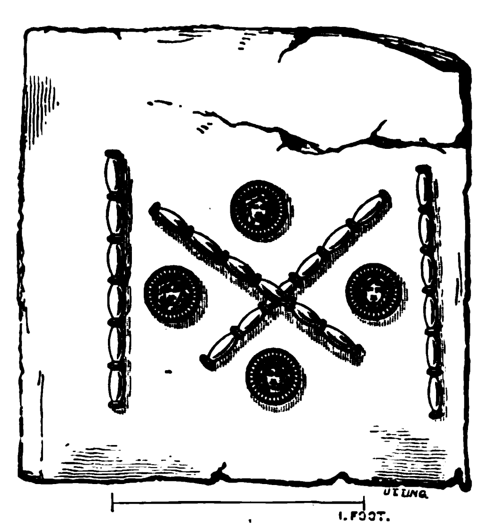
Fig. 2.



Fig. 3.

and the vase an additional ornament in the shape of a sword-blade. Each of the vases contains two prominent objects, which seem to be burning torches. Upon a fragment on one end of the coffin we find the lion not used in combination with the vase but with the Medusa medallion.

The Medusa's head was also met with on another leaden coffin discovered at Bexhill, which is now preserved in the Charles Museum at Maidstone. The medallions were, however, merely associated with an ornamental moulding, and without the other emblems referred to in the previous example.



In a recent number of Mr. Roach Smith's "Collectanea Antiqua" there appears an illustration of a leaden coffin discovered at Lieusaint, near Valognes,

in Normandy, and upon it are some interesting symbols. "Its ornamentation," writes Mr. Smith, "is composed of two busts, disposed symmetrically upon the lid, sides, and ends; and of two combinations of a male figure and a bird upon the sides. The busts are of very unequal artistic design; one is that of a female with distended cheeks; the other, fairly executed, a female bust within a lunette, probably intended for *Luna Lucifera*. The larger figures on the sides are more interesting. M. de Caumont, without however attaching much importance to the notion, asks if the eagle may be supposed to be an emblem of immortality, carrying the spirit of the deceased to heaven. As such the eagle will occur to all who are familiar with the consecration coins of the Roman emperors; but I suggest a simpler, and, I think, a very obvious, interpretation, in the Rape of Ganymede, the grouping being arranged for a limited space. Although disproportionate, these figures are well drawn and neatly executed. The Abbé Cochet terms them "deux génies ailés tenant des phylactères," but they are certainly not winged; "and the object held is not," M. de Caumont says, clearly defined. Moreover, the youthful figure is booted, as Ganymede is usually represented."*

In comparing these examples the combinations met with at once indicate the difficulty which exists in attempting to assign such monuments either to a pagan or Christian source. The Medusa's head is usually believed to indicate all that is hopeless and lost, literally a symbol of Death, petrifying all by whom its fearful countenance is beheld. When associated with lions or swans the opposite paths of light and darkness are implied. An eagle drinking from a cup held by Ganymede is interpreted as the soul in heavenly life supplied with nectar by the minister of the gods.† Such is a symbol which probably explains the meaning of figures on the coffin described by Mr. Smith. Torches such as those on the coffins from Bexhill are well known pagan emblems. The tombstone of Trojanus from Stanwix, dedicated to the "Diis Manibus," is doubtless also a heathen monument; yet we find the lions, which tearing human heads adorn each angle of the tomb, similarly grouped on sarcophagi of Christian times. This would seem to show that they have not necessarily a Mithraic import; the lion overpowering the ram from Kirkby Thore is said to symbolise "the greatly increased force of the sun when in Leo to what he has in Aries," ‡ "and shining in southern latitudes with a power

* Collectanea Antiqua, vol. vii. p. 196.

† Historic and Monumental Rome, by C. S. Hemans, p. 384.

‡ Lapidarium Septentrionale, p. 391; also p. 40.

which compels the strongest to succumb." In these remarks by Dr. Bruce he refers to the initiated, who, reaching the fourth step in the Mithraic mysteries, were called *Leones*, and mentions also the human head with rays proceeding from it which was found at CONDERCUM on the Wall. The inquiry is suggested, as to what meaning is intended when the object crushed is not a ram, and when all other Mithraic signs are absent? What are the constellations represented by a man, horse, boar, hind, or other animal of inferior strength, which, under similar conditions, are met with on tombs and monuments of Christian times?

There is, however, a piece of sculpture well known to antiquaries with which our group from the Bastion has much in common. I allude to the figure of the sphinx still preserved in the museum at Colchester. This was discovered some years ago "in the garden of the General Hospital, about 10 paces from the west wall, and about 55 paces from the London road; at 2 feet from the surface of the soil, close to it, were dug up a fragment of the *tibia* of a human leg, bones of oxen, deer, pigs, and fowls, with Roman pottery, and between 20 and 30 paces from the same spot part of a sepulchral inscription to the memory of one or more legionary soldiers." This figure is of freestone, measures 25½ inches long, is 10 inches wide at the base, and from the base to the top the measurement is 25 inches. Its squared base indicates that, like the group from the Bastion, it was intended for a similar purpose, viz., as an ornamental finish to a tomb. The inscription referred to is on a slab of Purbeck marble.



In an interesting paper* "On Roman Remains at Colchester" Mr. Roach Smith has described this relic. He writes, "As a work of art the sculptured sphinx exhibits good taste and executive skill of no mean order. The fabled monster of Thebes, combining the fivefold attributes of a virgin, a lion, a bird, a dog, and a serpent, is correctly exhibited in accordance with the ancient myths in which it figures so conspicuously. The head, breasts, and arms are those of a beautiful virgin, the fore-paws are of a lion, the body and fecund dugs indicate a bitch, the hinder part takes the lion's form, and the tail, doubled upon itself in short foldings, is the serpent in repose. The mangled remains of a human being lie beneath the figure and protrude over both sides. The head of the victim is extremely well executed; the eyelids are closed; the mouth is drawn down at the corners; the muscles are strained and set; and the countenance, sunk in death, conveys an expression of exhaustion and agony. Altogether the composition is good and harmonious, and is probably of early date." Of enigmatical animals the sphinx is perhaps of the greatest interest. Its compound nature is an indication of a symbolical intention which varied in accordance with the religious notions of the ancients by whom it was adopted. In Egypt the winged sphinx is comparatively unknown, its most familiar form combining with the head of a man the body of a lion. This is termed the *androsphinx*, and is said to typify the union of intellectual with physical strength; the *kriosphinx* possessed the head of a ram with the body of a lion, and the *hieracosphinx* with the same body but the head of a hawk. They are all considered as emblematical of the King;† their position before the great temples of antiquity is said to be typical of the mysterious nature of the deity. As representing the King, the sphinx of Egypt is usually a male figure, and without wings; the latter additions were perhaps derived from Assyria, the winged bulls with human heads of Nineveh being a mythical combination of the same order. The winged figure with the female head, such as that at Colchester, is the form peculiar to Greece, whence it probably passed to Rome, and assumed that appearance in classic art which is now familiar to us on the bronzes,‡ pottery, and coins of the Empire.

In a paper on the Colchester sphinx by the late Dr. William Bell, the author

* Journal, British Archæological Association, vol. ii. p. 39.

† Wilkinson's Ancient Egyptians, edited by Samuel Birch, LL.D. vol. iii. p. 309.

‡ On a bronze *præfericulum*, of elegant form, discovered among the sepulchral relics at the Bartlow Hills in Essex, the sphinx appears as an ornament to the handle, the fore-feet of the figure rest upon the necks of two birds with long beaks, the feet and body are those of a lion, the countenance and breasts those of a woman. Archæologia, vol. xxvi. p. 310; also Museo Borbonico, vol. iv. tav. 57.

refers to the destruction of the human body by the monster, and speaks of the remarkable myth which refers the name of the Roman Capitol and its supreme deity, Jupiter Capitolinus, to a human head exhumed when digging the foundations of the Latin arx; and observes further, that human heads attributed to animals, and more especially when held between the paws of lions, are emblematical of stability or power.* However this may be, we can but notice the singular association which exists between such figures and the subject of the Sphinx. There is the similarity in combination, the same idea conveyed of a weaker succumbing to a stronger power, and in the circumstance of such objects being as a rule connected with sepulchral memorials, together with the fact that their adoption by sculptors and artists does not appear to be confined to any particular period or creed; we may presume them to have originated in early myths and traditions concerning the laws of nature, and to have so found acceptance as appropriate symbols, but which in later times may have often been selected for representation in works of art without any especial object or intention, and as conventional forms of ornament suited to funereal sculpture not necessarily to be associated with the Mithraicists, Gnostics, or any other sects.

Another curious piece of sculpture from the Bastion is that shown by the annexed woodcut. It is the head of a statue of large dimensions, but considerably worn and broken. Its relation to the other relics may be seen on reference to Plate II. It there appears conveniently placed in position between some of the massive blocks. It has been worked in oolitic stone, similar in character both to the statue of the "Signifer" and the Lion; but whether it is to be associated with these relics, or indeed if the objects generally have all formed part of one and the same structure, there is no distinct evidence to show. The head is that of an elderly man, for though roughly treated there is the wrinkled forehead, depression in the cheeks, with a generally worn and haggard expression of the countenance, all indicative of age. There is but little appearance of hair, and this closely cut; indeed scarcely any can be



* See Sketch of a Paper on the Colchester Sphinx compared with two others found in Hungary, by William Bell, Essex Archæological Transactions, vol. i. p. 64.

discerned in our engraving, but a close examination of the original indicates the intention of the sculptor in this respect. It appears in a conventional manner, and that in a form somewhat suggestive of the short curled hair of the Negro race. This peculiarity led me at first to view the figure as portraying an individual of African descent, and as such it has been described on more than one occasion. I, however, now incline to the opinion expressed by Canon Greenwell, M.A., who thinks such resemblance merely due to the broken condition of the face, and calls attention to examples where the features have been similarly treated on early medieval effigies of the twelfth or thirteenth centuries. At the same time the question remains open: the features of the Negro though rare are not unknown in Roman sculpture. They occur sometimes among groups of figures which appear on some of the sarcophagi from the Catacombs, there probably in the position of slaves. Auxiliaries, however, of all nations, served with the legions in Britain; we may therefore reasonably expect to discover now and then, especially among sepulchral monuments, some commemorative record of individuals connected both by parentage and birth with the African continent.

Dr. Bruce has engraved an altar discovered at Old Carlisle, but which is now in the library of Trinity College, Cambridge. The dedication is to Jupiter, and by one Æmilius Crispus, a soldier and native of Tusdrus, a city of North Africa.* We know also that at Lambæsa, a Numidian city, the third legion was stationed for three centuries, and would consequently be often recruited by drafts from the native races. Allowance must be made for the intermixture created by the arrival of colonists from Italy. Soldiers serving in Britain and other of the Imperial provinces might derive their descent from the parent country, though born themselves in far-off lands. In some interesting remarks by the Rev. John M'Caul, LL.D., upon a collection of inscriptions relative to "Longevity in Ancient Africa," published by M. Léon Renier, in the year 1858, reference is made to the manner in which the legions were recruited. Occasionally deficiencies produced by loss in action, or on service, or by natural causes, were supplied by drafts from Italy. Thus we find in Tacitus † that troops were sent from Germany to fill up the ninth legion after their disaster on their march to Camulodunum. In the words "legione renovata," which occur among the inscriptions referred to, we have evidence of action to repair the third legion, but the extant records of Lambæsa plainly show that in process of time the large majority of the corps were natives of the country. In M. Renier's list ninety-eight members of the legion are

* Lapidarium Septentrionale, p. 422.

† Annals, xiv. 38.

mentioned. Of these one-half were born *Castris, i.e.* were *enfants de troupe*, and the others, almost without exception, had their birth-places in different parts of Africa.

There are yet other allusions in classic literature which point to an association with the descendants of Ham. Mr. Coote reminds me of a passage in the "moretum" of the inimitable Virgil which refers to a negress. She is house-slave to a poor market gardener who has no other. On rising in the morning he calls to her to prepare his breakfast—

> Interdum clamat Cybalen; erat unica custos,
> Afra genus, tota patriam testante figura,
> Torta comam labroque tumens, et fusca colorem;
> Pectore lata, jacens mammis, compressior alvo,
> Cruribus exilis, spatiosa prodiga plantam.

The race is also mentioned in the last quarter of the third century. In the writings of Vopiscus* the author speaks of the Blemmyes, viz. the Nubian blacks, as pouring into Central Egypt and becoming formidable enemies. They were included in the great Triumph of Aurelian where Zenobia walked in the procession. In similar honours to Probus the Blemmyes also appear; their looks astonished the Romans.† "Qui mirabilem sui visum stupente," &c. &c. writes Vopiscus.‡

We have next to consider the architectural fragments found in the Bastion, and of these the more important have been selected for illustration.

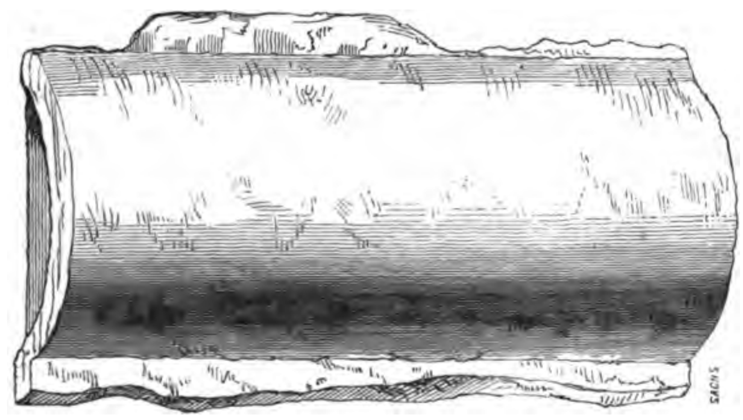


Fig. 1.

Figs. 1 and 2 are of massive character, and have formed part of the coping to a wall. There were six such blocks discovered, and all were similar in general character, but varying in their respective measurements. They are

* F. Vopiscus, Peter's edition, vol. ii. p. 160. † Ibid. p. 200. ‡ Ibid. p. 198.

of the same description of oolite as the statue and the lion, and bear a strong resemblance to those found under similar conditions in the buttress at Tower Hill. They remind us also of the worked stones which were found many years ago by the late E. T. Artis, F.S.A., at Castor, associated with columns and fragments of a Roman altar. The several widths of these blocks as found were 1 ft. 9 in. to 2 ft. 5 in. and their length from 3 ft. 1 in. to 3 ft. 5 in. The projection which is seen in fig. 2 is due to the coping having been fitted to an angle or projection, probably situate at the entrance to the tomb inclosure.

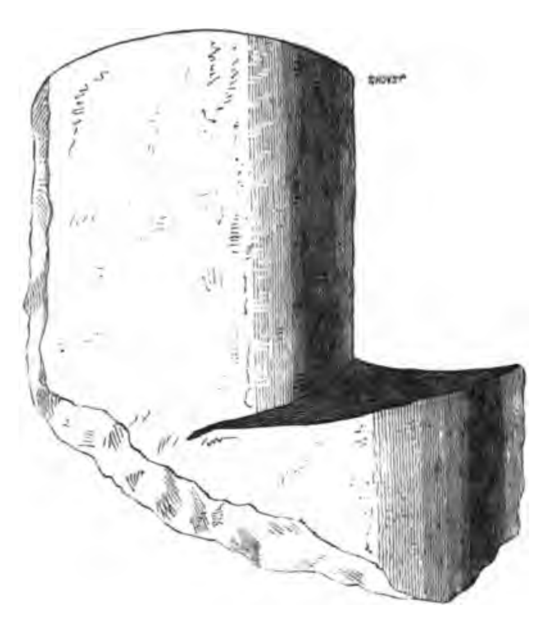


Fig. 2.

Fig. 3. Base to engaged semi-column connected with pilaster. The mouldings are mitred and returned, indicating the projection from adjacent wall-face. The flat profile of the mouldings is unusual, probably due to the friable nature of the green-stone, rendering much projection unsafe in working and having a greater liability to decay; but, considered from an archæological point of view, are indicative of the decadence from the vigorous contours of earlier Roman mouldings. Such may be observed in bases of nave-columns to the church of St. Paul outside the walls of Rome, which are of the time of Constantine, of very inferior style and workmanship; also in the capitals of the columns of semicircular arches in the church of St. Vitale at Ravenna, of the reign of Justinian, and erected about A.D. 550, both of which examples illustrate similar depressed profiles. The outside dimensions of the block are 2 ft. 10 in. wide, 1 ft. 6½ in. deep, and 1 ft. 3 in. thick.

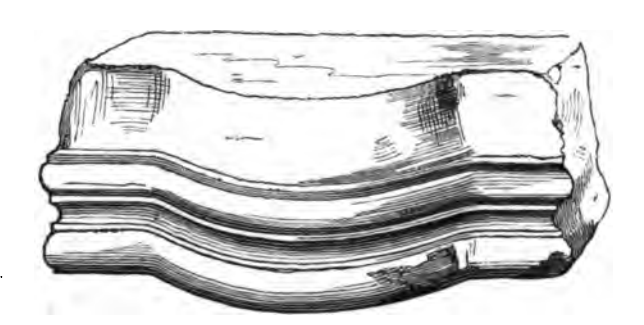


Fig. 3.

Fig. 4. Semi-attached diminished and fluted shaft, with a fluted pilaster. This is a greenstone fragment, and appears to have been an upper stone connected with fig. 3. For increased decorative richness the upper parts of shafts were often fluted. The dimensions are 1 ft. 10 in., 1 ft. 4½ in., and 1 ft. 10 in. high.

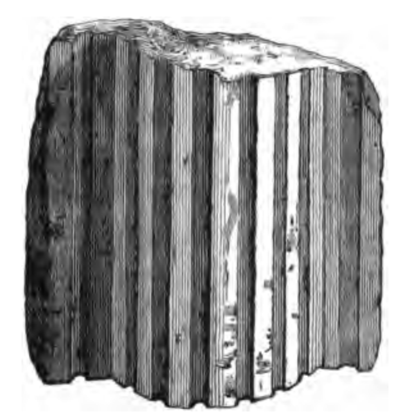


Fig. 4.

Fig. 5. Of this there are two examples in the collection. It indicates mitred and returned and weathered mouldings, probably belonging to a doorway, or perhaps the cornice surmounting the columns before mentioned. The details of both are similar, about 10 ft. run and 1 ft. 3 inches in height, and bear a strange resemblance to one of the blocks figured from Tower Hill. These with fig. 6 are of oolitic stone.

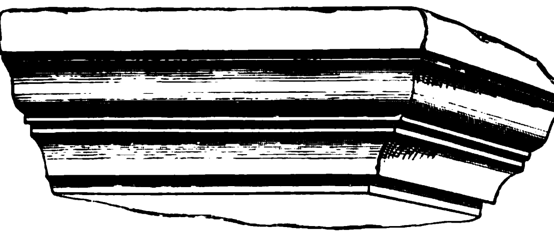


Fig. 5.

Fig. 6 illustrates two moulded cantelevers or corbels, probably to carry overhanging stonework, or they may have been blocks for the enrichment of a principal cornice. The cyma is very bold and more refined than the other mouldings above referred to. Dimensions, 7 in. wide, 2 ft. 8 in. deep, and 12¾ in. thick.

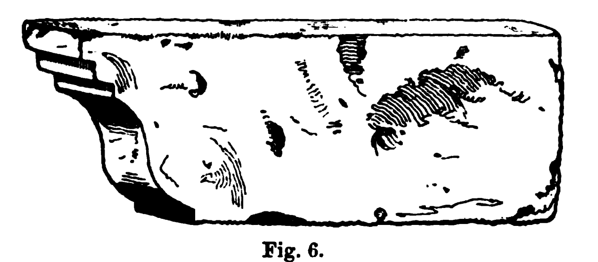


Fig. 6.

Fig. 7. A bold, moulded, returned, mitred, and enriched fragment of green-

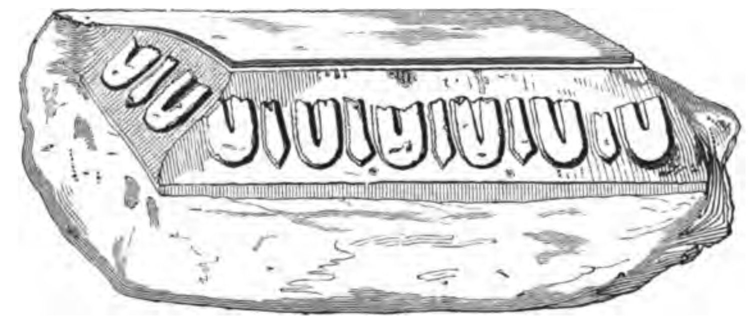


Fig. 7.

stone; the lower member is almost obliterated, excepting the indication of its being a torus moulding; the upper has an enriched cavetto of bold leaf-and-petal ornament carved in *basso rilievo,* and may have been so designed as an imitation of the tongue-and-tassel border so familiar on Roman pottery, and of which so many varieties appear upon the Samian ware. This may have been a base-moulding. The dimensions are 4 ft. 2 in. long, 1 ft. 4 in. thick, and 1 ft. 6 in. depth on bed.

Figs. 8 and 9. Pilasters or blocks of greenstone with scroll enrichment. These are of considerable size and weight. The ornamentation is apparently un-

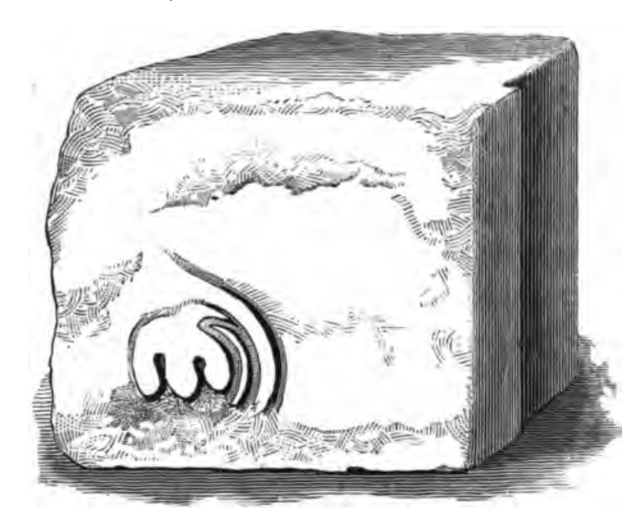


Fig. 8.

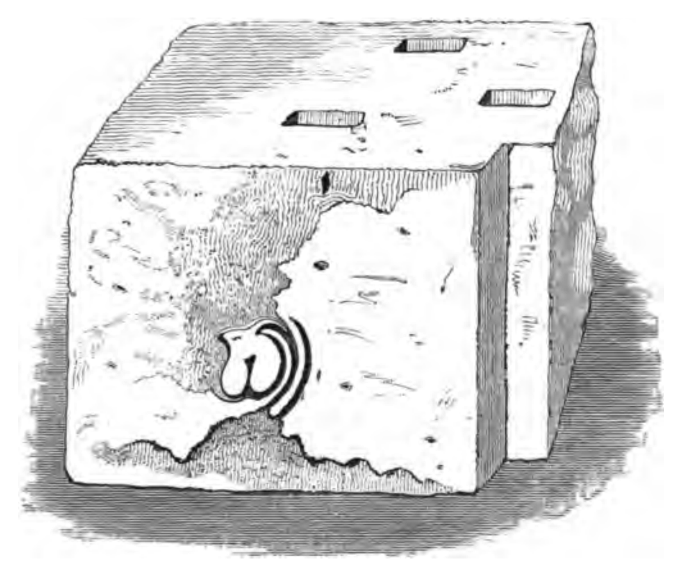
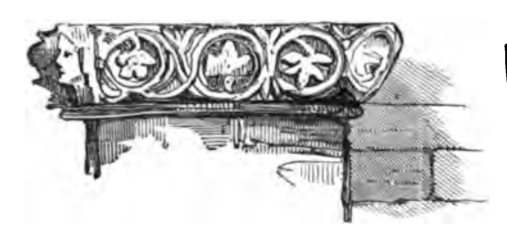
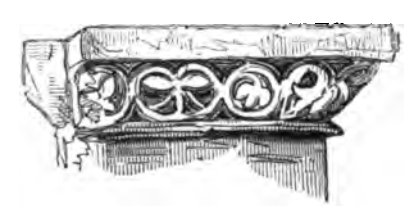


Fig. 9.

finished, but the little which remains possesses a special interest. While the massive character of the stones shows a Roman origin, the rude character of the design upon them indicates a debased and late style of workmanship. It appears to illustrate a form which was continued through the Saxon *régime* and on to the early Norman period. As the fusion of races became complete, the dormant Roman influence, for a time suppressed, again became dominant, and may be frequently identified in work of later days. Among the remains of Saxon architecture at Westminster Abbey, work may be observed which bears a strange resemblance to the ornament we have figured. The columns which form the substructure to the dormitory, and which belong it is said to the time of Edward the Confessor, have been altered and enriched in later times. They measure 3 ft. 6 in. in diameter and 3 ft. 4 or 5 in. high. The capitals have a large unmoulded abacus, which in some cases has been left untouched, in others has been axed iuto a form preparatory to carving and enrichment. The annexed woodcut shows where some have been left incomplete, while on others the ornamentation has been finished. It will be seen that portions of the scroll-work are identical in character with the fragmentary design upon the sculptures from the city.







The extreme dimensions of these blocks are 2 ft. 7 in. wide, 2 ft. 1 in. deep, and 1 ft. 11 in. in thickness or height.

Several other plain blocks of greenstone of corresponding character were discovered, some of which may have been intended, as these, for future enrichment.

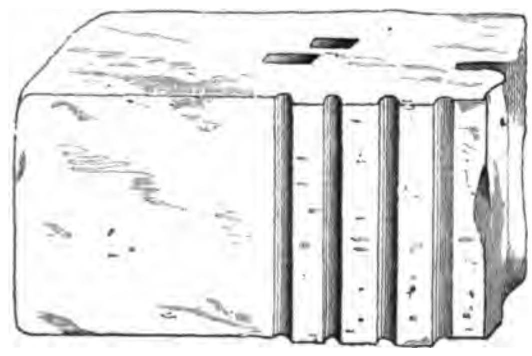


Fig. 10.

Fig. 10. Fluted or filleted block or pilaster in green sandstone; the position of the lewis-holes indicates that it was bedded as shown. It resembles certain of the blocks taken from the old wall in Thames Street, and in general treatment the fluted pilasters which were discovered associated with sculptures of the Seasons, beneath what is now the pump-room at Bath, and other architectural

fragments belonging to the Temple, which, according to Lysons and other writers, was dedicated to Minerva. The dimensions are 2 ft. 9 in. wide, 1 ft. 9 in. deep, and 1 ft. 11 in. in thickness or height.

Fig. 11. This may also be assumed to be a pilaster. The wavy axis of the ornament is graceful, and in unison with the general design. The carved ornamentation is peculiar, and evidently has regard to the nature of the material to be worked. It is Romanesque in character, and might well take its place in either Norman or Saxon work. The figure is feathery or fernlike, and is original and artistic, and similar to much of the ornament now under consideration, and unconventional; such was very prevalent about the sixth century, due probably to Byzantine and Eastern influence. The dimensions are 1 ft. 9½ in. wide, nearly 2 ft. deep, and 3 ft. 1 in. high.



Fig. 11.

Fig. 12. Also of greenstone. It has formed part of a panel or surface with military trophy carving, associated with foliage. Assuming that the majority of these blocks have formed part of one and the same sepulchral monument or cenotaph, such an adaptation of ornaments would be appropriate to the tomb of a military officer; at the same time it might be equally suitable if forming part of a triumphal arch gateway, or entrance to a public building. Among the architectural details upon the celebrated Roman arch at Orange, on the road to Lyons, in France, are groups of shields and weapons, with other military trophies. The dimensions are 1 ft. 11 in. wide, and about the same in depth and height—1 ft. 7 in.

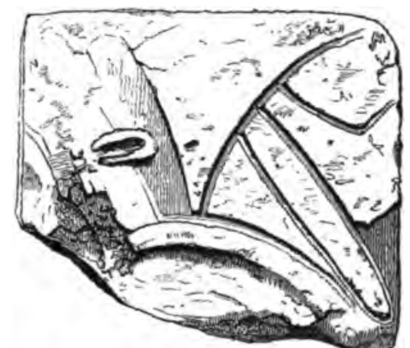


Fig. 12.

Fig. 13, likewise of greenstone, comprises spandril, archivolt moulding, and part of cornice to a niche or doorway. The moulding is returned, and the side of spandril is panelled, showing that this work projected beyond the general face of the edifice. Indications are present of iron cramps having been employed when fixing, and a hole shows on face, sunk to receive a bracket or hook for suspension of some object. The enrichment and moulding of the arch are refined, and the tri-leafed ornaments, so familiar in similar monuments abroad, is extremely good.

We have, in the proposed restoration, already suggested the original position of

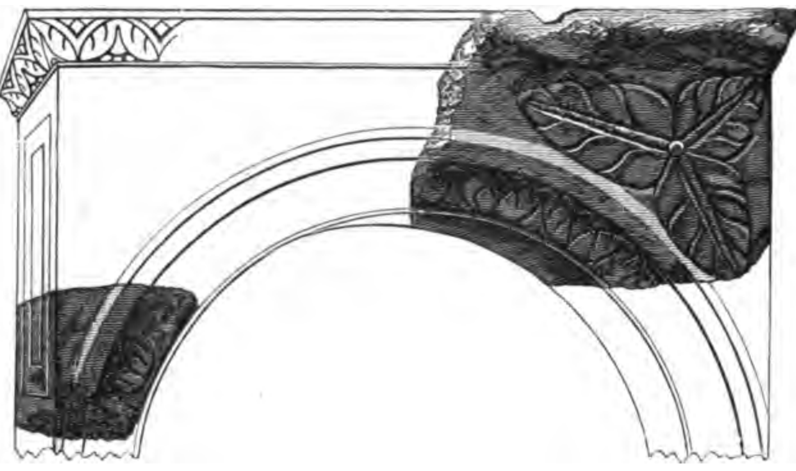


Fig. 13.

these fragments. The size is about 1 ft. 9 in. by 1 ft. 9 in. on face, and 12½ in. in thickness.

Fig. 14. Probably portion of the same structure; the woodcut is hardly so accurate as the lithograph, having been made before there was a favourable

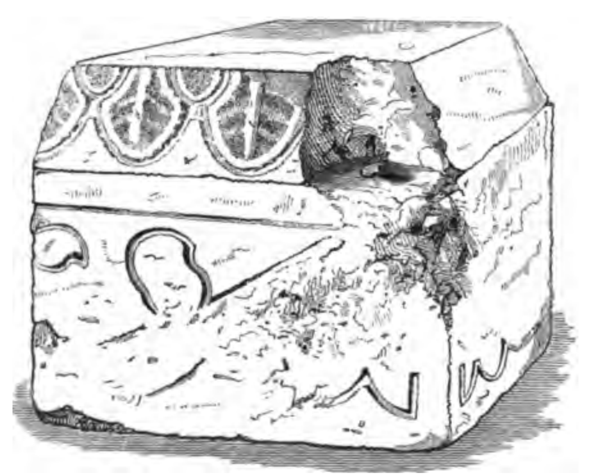


Fig. 14.

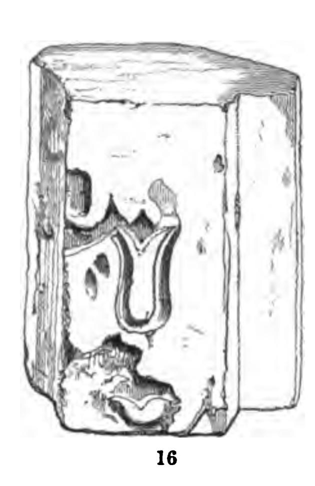
opportunity of carefully examining the stone ; it, however, shows the similarity of the sculpture to the other blocks. The carving is richly executed, and the ornament effective. The leaf decoration on splay is better in character, and more classical than others. It is suggestive of the ornamentation upon the lid of the Roman sarcophagus discovered at Haydon Square, and also of that on

the bases of altars preserved in the Museum of Roman Antiquities at Newcastle-upon-Tyne. In the sunk angle, to the right, there exists a fragment of iron, to which some object has been attached. The dimensions are 2 ft. 2½ in. wide, 2 ft. 5 in. deep, and 1 ft. 9½ in. thick.

Fig. 15. Also of greenstone, probably a terminal on pier, between the lengths of coping, to the inclosing wall (see figs. 1 and 2). The segmental finish to



15



16

the block is evident. A set-off in the depth is indicated in the woodcut. The measurements are 1 ft. high, 1 ft. 6 in. wide, by 2 ft. deep.

Fig. 16, of similar stone to the preceding, may be classed with pilaster or vertical surface enrichment. The rebate or square sinking may be noticed on some of the other objects. This was probably for fitting into adjacent stones, securing greater stability than cramping only would produce. The dimensions are 1 ft. 10 in. wide, 1 ft. 5 in. deep, and 2 ft. 2 in. thick.

Fig. 17, the last of the series, is of considerable interest. It represents a male figure, nude, and carved in low-relief; but, as yet, I am unable to discover for whom it is intended—whether for one of the divinities of mythology, or as indicating merely one of the genii, figures of which are so often seen used as accessories to decorated monuments. The rough curling hair which the sculptor has well defined reminds me of the figures of Gauls or "barbarians" as represented in ancient sculpture. At the same time it bears some resemblance to a figure of Silvanus, preserved in the museum of the Capitol. It is also suggestive

of Ampelus, the favourite of Bacchus, who, according to Ovid,* became a constellation after death. The object held by the right hand is slightly suggestive of the trident of Neptune. It, however, must possess some other meaning, for the projections which appear are out of all proportion to the size of the staff to which they are affixed. It may be a portion of the Bacchanalian "thyrsus," the long pole with an ornamental head, made up of vine-leaves or ivy, but sometimes a ripening fir-cone, to which the projections referred to bear a slight resemblance.† So worn and abraded is the surface of the sculpture that it is doubtful whether our illustration is strictly accurate, or whether the object itself is thus but partially shown or executed and unfinished by the carver; the woodcut, however, is from a photograph carefully taken from the original, with due regard to light and shade. The ornamentation on either side of the figure is of the same peculiar character as that observed in fig. 11; indeed, upon the left-hand side of the stone there is a repetition of the actual design, a proof that both of these curious blocks have belonged to one and the same structure. The dimensions are 1 ft. 11½ in. wide, 2 ft. 5 in. high, and 2 ft. 7 in. deep.



The foregoing researches lead to the conclusion that these interesting relics are portions of a Roman sepulchral monument, which falling into decay became, as years rolled on, a suitable quarry for mediæval builders, providing from its position on the spot convenient materials for the erection of a structure requiring such solidity and strength as would a Bastion to the City Wall. The size of the stones and their enormous weight show them to have been

* Ovid's Fasti, 3, v. 407.

† See painting of Bacchus and Silenus in the apartment of the priest in the Temple of Venus, Pompeii. Illustrations in Montfaucon's Antiquité Expliquée, vol. 4, clxxxiv. clvi., and examples on sculpture in the British Museum.

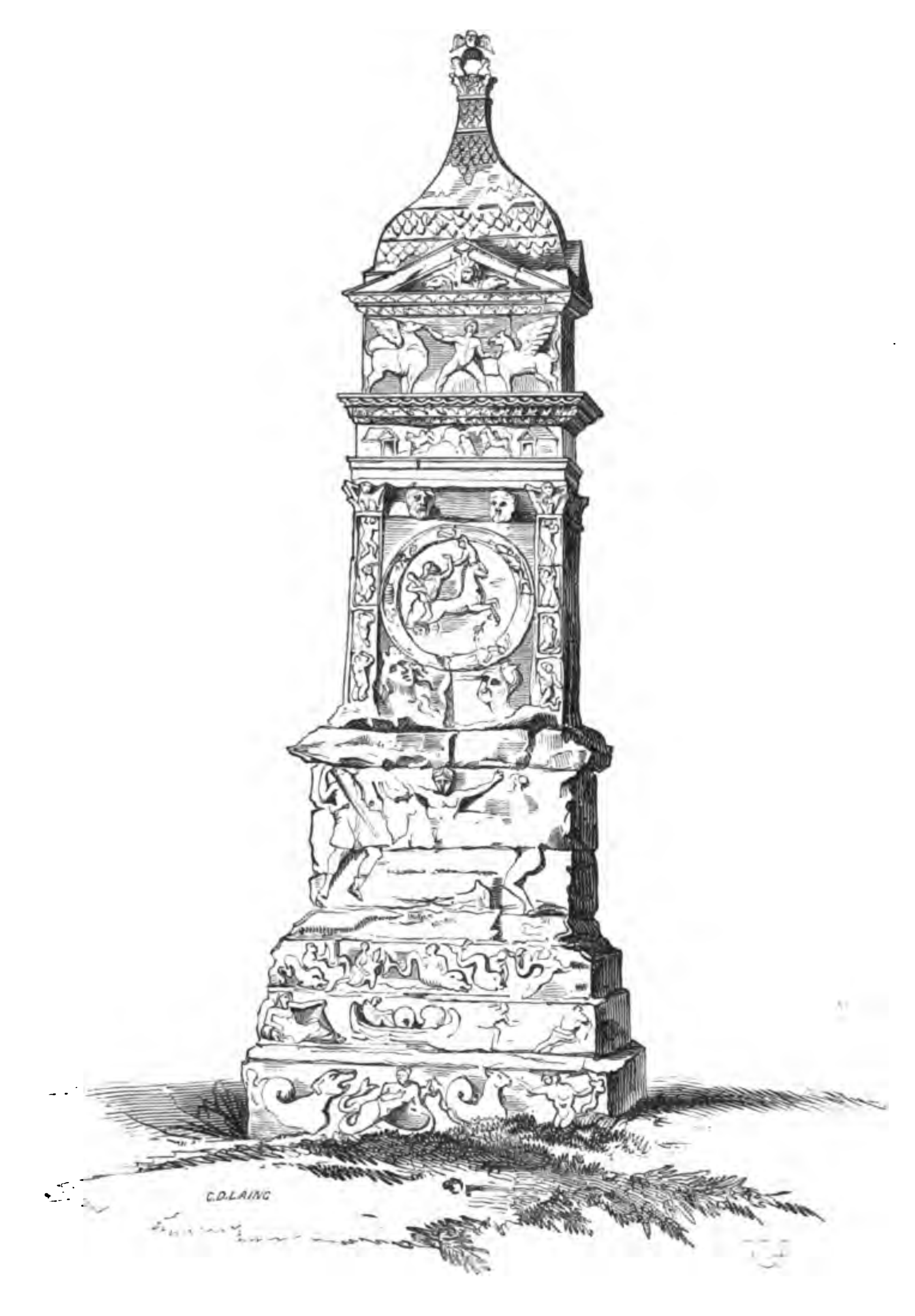
close at hand, and are indications that the edifice to which they had belonged was of such proportions as to bear comparison with those gigantic sepulchres to be met with on the Continent, and which are so familiar to the traveller in the immediate vicinity of Rome. Such imposing memorials were invariably placed near to the city gates, and by the sides of country roads for miles, in order that throughout all ages they might attract the notice of travellers both to and from the city. "Siste viator"—stay traveller, "Aspice viator"—look traveller, are phrases oft-times addressed, as it were, by the dead to the living. The cost or difficulty connected with the erection of huge mausolea does not appear to have ever troubled the wealthier classes of old Rome. In early days their sepulchres were so built as to form models of the dwellings in which the deceased had lived, and remains are in existence which afford ample evidence of the fact. The citizens of Londinium would keep in practice old customs and traditions. That the same attention was here devoted to such matters is shown by their costly memorials of lead, and stone sarcophagi hewn from solid blocks of oolite, with covers upon them of such magnitude as though destined for eternity. The marble sarcophagus discovered a few years since at Upper Clapton is significant of wealth; it was imported from Italy. The two sarcophagi found at St. Bartholomew's Hospital contained enriched leaden coffins. That found at Westminster Abbey was of even greater interest, and those from Widegate Street, Bishopsgate, from Haydon Square, Minories, and from the bank of the Fleet River, near to Seacoal Lane, are equally worthy of remark. The isolated position of some of these examples, far away from districts known to have been used as public cemeteries, further illustrates how uniform in character were Roman observances throughout the provinces of the Empire. They prove the use of tombs as landmarks or limitary monuments in accordance with the enactments of Tiberius.* The possessor of an estate in Roman Britain would have his sepulchre at one of the limits of his property, as though he had lived and died in Italy.

The tomb thus preserved to us in fragments is a memorial to a citizen of Roman London, and one, as we have seen, of rank and distinction. If possible to restore the monument we might realise for our city such a structure as those at St. Remi and Arlon and that still standing at Igel on the road to Trèves, which has been ably described and illustrated by Mr. Roach Smith in his Collectanea Antiqua.† This tomb or cenotaph was erected by members of their family to Secundinus Securus and Secundinus Aventinus, merchants of wealth

* See Lachmann's Gromatici Veteres, page 271.

† Vol. ii. p. 78.

and position at Trèves. In height it is about 72 feet, the width at the



base on two sides is 15 feet, on the other two 12 feet; it is formed of

blocks of red sandstone from the immediate neighbourhood. The four sides, in these several divisions, from the base to the pediment, are profusely adorned with sculptures. In the main division, which faces the high road, are three male figures of colossal size in the costume of civilians, and apparently joining hands; above them are three busts, one of which appears to be that of a female. The pilasters on the sides are decorated with figures of genii, four in each, one above the other. On each of the capitals of the pilasters is a head, and on each base a bird and a globe. On the eastern and western sides of this compartment the figures are too much defaced to be described with any certainty. The north side, fronting the rising ground, is better preserved. This may be noted by the engraving kindly lent by Mr. G. Godwin, F.S.A., and others associated with the Builder, in which publication it appeared nearly forty years ago. It is wanting in points of detail, but is sufficient for our purpose as giving a general notion of the character of this most remarkable monument. In the chief division is represented, within the signs of the Zodiac, Hercules, in a car drawn by horses ascending to Olympus, and received by his protectress the goddess Minerva. The angles of this compartment are filled by four heads of large size, representations of the four winds. The pilasters on this side are filled with genii armed with spears and shields; but the bird and globe are placed below, as on the other quarters.*

The numerous sculptures which adorn the monument, and of which Mr. Smith gives a lengthened description, are of considerable interest, and illustrate as usual matters connected with the life and avocations of those to whom the monument was erected. In this it reminds us of the mausoleum of Eurysaces the baker at the Porta Maggiore, to which reference has been made, and we may well imagine our City tomb when complete to have belonged to the same order and to have commemorated the services of one who, as soldier and civilian, merited the esteem of the citizens of old, as did the family of the Secundini that of the inhabitants of Trèves. Whether the figure of the lion is to be associated with the tomb, and as its terminal ornament take a similar position to the Sphinx at Colchester, or the figure of Victory at Igel,† remains a matter for conjecture, as does the association of the deceased with the worship of Mithras

* See Mr. Roach Smith's Collectanea Antiqua, vol. ii. p. 84; also page 88 for a good illustration of the southern side.

† In most engravings of the monument this figure is made to represent an eagle, but it is described by Mr. Roach Smith, F.S.A., Mr. J. G. Waller, and the late F. W. Fairholt, F.S.A., as the lower portion of a "winged genius."

or other superstitious rites imported from the East. If part of the memorial, it may possess a religious significance or may commemorate some event of secular interest in the life of the soldier who reposed beneath.

The date also of the tomb remains an open question; there is nothing in design or treatment which points to the artistic work as practised in the days of Hadrian or the Antonines. On the contrary, though bold and forcible it is roughly done, and directs us to a time when the sculptor's art was on the wane; classic forms are present, but they appear rather as imitations than original. The ornamentation on many of the stones might indeed have been executed in Saxon times; that it is late is further illustrated by the circumstance that the tomb, if in ruins, was existing when the builders of later days were called to rear a Bastion against the face of the City Wall. This structure like its companion at Tower Hill may have been constructed as late as the thirteenth century, perhaps a portion of those substantial repairs said to have been effected by Henry III. Additional information may yet be gathered on this point should we ever be so fortunate as to have the opportunity of examining the foundations of other bastions known to have been standing until recent times; their positions are well known, can be readily identified, and if in the two which have been explored after an interval of some thirty years we note so striking a resemblance in the method of their construction, even to the selection of the sculptures deposited in the foundations, it is fair to assume that others erected at the same time, and in a district abounding with memorials to the dead, were constructed in like manner, and we may still cherish the hope of one day hearing of that wished-for discovery, some inscribed stone or tablet which, bearing historic data, may relieve us of many theories, and tell us of something connected with the erection or extension of the Wall. Years roll on but no record appears, and piece by piece the old landmark is removed. A similar mystery exists in connection with other of our Roman towns. The date of the walls at Colchester is unknown; that the place was neither fortified nor protected in the time of Boadicea is recorded by Tacitus;* that the walls were standing in the reign of Alfred the Great is equally clear from the Saxon Chronicle; but between these periods there is a lapse of many centuries. Existing portions of the wall contain remains of earlier buildings as we find in London; old materials thus worked up point to a late period in construction, as does the absence of tile-stamps and inscriptions. In the Antonine wall of Scotland we hear of slabs inserted which speak of the reigning emperor and of the legions employed upon the work; similar testimony exists with respect to the great

* Annals, lib. xiv. c. 31.

wall of Hadrian in Northumberland: but of military works undertaken by the Roman government for the protection of its colonists, the walls of our ancient towns are singularly deficient in "lettered stones," descriptive of themselves. We note from time to time the interments which are discovered, and, aided by numismatic evidence, are enabled to limit the space occupied by the first inclosure; but what has become of the barrier itself—the wall which separated the earlier Roman city from its "Pomœrium" and public cemeteries? It is only from excavations like the present that we can expect to gather substantial contributions to the little we know as to its foundation and growth. We have yet to determine the line it took, and to define its gradual extension during those six long centuries which intervened between the close of the Roman occupation and the Norman conquest.

